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MOULTON OF TONGA



JAMES EGAN MOULTON.

Moulton of Tonga

BY
J. EGAN MOULTON

WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF
W. FIDDIAN MOULTON

FOREWORD BY
DR. RICHARD G. MOULTON



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PREFACE

IN sending forth this sketch of the career of Dr. Egan Moulton of Tonga some explanation is due to the reader with respect to the two names which appear on the title-page. It is to my cousin's *pietas* that the book is due, and his was the gathering of the material and the writing of the original MS. But every one knows the difficulties besetting the publication of books at the present time, and when the MS. came to hand it was evident that it would involve a volume of such proportions as would endanger an effective sale, especially in view of the fact that the subject of the memoir had been dead for a dozen years. There was nothing to be done but to condense it, which in some parts meant re-writing the book. That has been my share in the enterprise, undertaken, let it be understood, with my cousin's full consent. But the material, the arrangement, and the estimates are his; and even if I had desired to alter them—which I certainly did not—I should not have felt justified in doing so.

Dr. Egan Moulton's brother, Lord Moulton of Bank, had promised to write a Foreword, which he would have done *con amore*, for he had an unbounded admiration for his brother's gifts and character. His sudden death left that page unwritten; but I am grateful to the sole surviving member of that gifted band of brothers, Dr. R. G. Moulton, for taking up the task.

W. FIDDIAN MOULTON.

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FOREWORD

I HAVE been asked to write a few words of introduction to this sketch, and I do so gladly. But in reality no Foreword is necessary: this memoir is one of the kind that explain themselves. I have myself always had a distaste for the traditional biography, which is made by elaborating unrelated facts before they get forgotten. The true biography presents facts in perspective, until the whole crystallizes into a unit of impressions. Those who read this sketch cannot fail to feel, as they read, a clear personality and an impressive life-work.

The personality was singularly attractive. Indeed, I have been accustomed to say privately, what I suppose one must not say in public of a brother, that Egan Moulton was the most interesting man I have ever met. The first impression he gave was of a man who had travelled; and travelling, for conversational purposes, is measured not by geographical miles, but by the variety of human nature encountered, and the power of entering into this variety. My brother had an alert instinct for catching the exact point of view of everybody he met, and drawing him out at his best. I believe, in spite of the social prejudice to the contrary, that most men talk best when they are talking 'shop.' People of very ordinary powers, when drawn into genial converse with Dr. Moulton, were thus kept at their brightest, and were astonished to find how interesting

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they could become. And of course my brother had a varied and attractive life of his own with which he could reciprocate.

For somewhat similar reasons Dr. Moulton was a great preacher. What I have in mind was not great exegesis, or even an unusual oratorical appeal, though in equipment of this kind there was nothing lacking. But the 'sermon,' or 'lecture,' has its own place among the varied forms of literature, and calls for its own special talent. Egan Moulton had a selective instinct for the unusual, the individual point of view, which escapes men of more methodical studies; such a point of view once taken, light was brought to bear upon it from all sides until the whole field of view seemed to glow. Merely to read out the text would set the whole congregation sermon-making. Or, I have known Dr. Moulton announce that his text lay between the conclusion of a particular chapter and the commencement of the next: we were shown what was *left out* of the Bible, and a basis was found for the difference of scale between sacred and secular. The sermon over, it would be found that the Sunday-school scholar and the chance Doctor of Divinity present had been equally attracted.

As to work, it would be life-work enough to remember Egan Moulton as a missionary bringing the gospel to a remote civilization. But in reality the work was more than that of the missionary in the ordinary sense. It is a common error to think of a missionary, in comparison with the pastor at home, as having a task of elementary education. But to a thinker like Dr. Moulton evangelization could never be separated from culture; sanctification and edification must go together. The remoteness of the civilization meant so much more of originality in

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the educational work; again and again, as the sketch that follows shows, culture had to construct its own tools. Thus the crown of my brother's life was his work on the Bible. This was not what is ordinarily understood by translation: the Bible had already been translated into the Tongan language. What was wanted was the enlargement of the Tongan language to make it adequate to Biblical literature. When I heard my brother speak of this part of his work I was always carried back mentally to the mediæval centuries, when precisely similar work was being done for the great languages of Europe, when Dante and his contemporaries were, not writing their great poems, but preparing the raw Italian to be a vehicle of the poetry that was coming. Egan Moulton consciously set himself to do similar work for Tongan civilization. There was a native literature; often inspired poetically, however debased in matter: my brother studied this native literature, watching for new connotations of words, or rhythmic possibilities for the native poet of the future. Only in such enlarged language could the prophetic literature of Scripture find adequate expression. Here we have philologic work of the highest order, in comparison with which the philological work that sometimes brings academic degrees may seem cheap.

Whether in the common round, or in the more unusual work of education, it was inevitable that there should be a strong bond of tenderness between the Tongan people and the champion of their civilization among the nations. A life-work done under these conditions might seem idyllic. But it was an idyll that was suddenly transformed into a tragedy, a tragedy in which only at the last moment was the end overruled for good. This strange story is

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well told, and told with great restraint, in the pages that follow. It brings home to us how individual wrong-doing may spread the widest disaster, until the clock of time has to be put back, and we find ourselves facing something like the days of primitive persecution. It is better to dwell on the other side of the picture; how, in the counsels of providence, Egan Moulton was permitted to live until the shadow was rolled away; until the evil was disavowed by its own authors, and there could follow a peaceful eventide, with the work founded by the father carried on by his son.

The purpose of sketches like the present is not what would be ordinarily described as the History of Missions. It is more nearly the Romance of Missions: the purpose of bringing home to every Christian reader single aspects of the great mission work in all their picturesqueness. In such a series no one would omit a situation so singular as that here described, and a life-work so devoted. For such a life only one epitaph is adequate: this missionary will be for ever known as MOULTON OF TONGA.

R. G. M.

MOULTON OF TONGA

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE AND PREPARATION

‘**M**OULTON of Tonga’ is not intended to be a biography in the ordinary sense of the term. Its author has but striven to lay before his readers the story of the life of one who, he ventures to think, might have risen to eminence in the educational sphere under more attractive conditions, but who, hearing the imperative call of God for workers in the mission field, was obedient to the same, regardless of the cost. He never doubted that it was God’s finger which pointed that way, and it is unnecessary to say that he never regretted his choice. The present volume is an attempt to sketch the actual working-out of that call in the career of the one whose name it bears.

James Egan Moulton was one of that devoted band of servants of God who have thought it no poverty to leave home, and the mother country, and bright worldly prospects in order to give the service of a lifetime for the enlightenment of dark-skinned peoples. It was not his lot to go out to struggle against a savage environment, and therefore his career as a missionary does not present a record of thrilling adventure and hair-breadth escapes. Had the condition of the islands to which he was sent called for that kind of struggle, he would never have

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flinched, for he had in him all the characteristics which go to make the missionary martyr. But there was no necessity.

When he landed in Tonga in May 1865 he found there what had recently been a heathen race, but which was emerging from the darkness of savagery into the glorious light of Christianity—a result due, under the providence of God, to the indefatigable efforts of a handful of devoted men. Indeed, by the time he arrived on the scene the group of islands had become nominally Christian, under the rule of their warrior sovereign King George, who had himself embraced the new faith and had been baptized.

It might be thought that, since the pioneering work had been so efficiently done, the initial spur to a keen missionary mind would have been dulled. But if a religious work is to be consolidated the enlightenment of the heart must be followed by a similar work upon the mind; and the darkness of ignorance is as inveterate a foe of the gospel as the benighted heart that dwells in the defilements of savagery. In 1855 the far-sighted Tongan King had realized the uselessness of a moral without a corresponding intellectual development; and, quoting from Hosea, he had cried, 'My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge.' That this was no passing fancy is proved by the fact that, ten years later, hearing from a European missionary concerning the work of a young man from England, who was at the head of the teaching staff of the Wesleyan Educational Institution on the Parramatta River (afterwards known so well as Newington College), he made a special application to the Conference for him by name. The Conference complied with the request and sent the man—the Moulton of this memoir.

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James Egan Moulton came into this world under influences which counted for much. His father, after whom he was named, was the second son of the Rev. William Moulton, who had married the elder of the two daughters of Dr. James Egan. Dr. Egan was assistant-master at the Academy presided over by Mr. John Bakewell of Greenwich; and there grew up an attachment between him and the head master's daughter, who was distinguished for her 'remarkable knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.' John Bakewell is noted as the author of the well-known hymn, 'Hail, Thou once despised Jesus!' He had been a preacher of the gospel in his native county of Derbyshire before he had identified himself with John Wesley, of whom he became an intimate friend. The great evangelist, who was often Mr. Bakewell's guest at Greenwich, detected the evident attachment between the clever Irish scholar and the equally remarkable daughter of his host, and urged his friend to hand over the school to them so that he himself might be free to preach the gospel without any conflicting claims upon his time and energy. He complied, and the gifted couple were united in matrimony by Wesley himself. It is much to be regretted that hardly any records of the Bakewell family remain, for he was a preacher for over fifty years, and the record of his experiences would shed much light not only upon the growth of the Methodist Church but also the social and religious history of the people. But his humble disposition shrank from the idea of the publicity of the printed page; and he extracted from his grand-daughter, who wished to record his life and work, a promise that she would refrain from such a course.

It was with such a bias as this, towards the

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gospel and culture alike, that the James Egan Moulton of Tongan association came into the world at North Shields in 1841. His father was a man of so methodical a turn of mind in the discharge of his duties as Chairman of the District, that he was known as 'arrangements Moulton'; but he was something more than an efficient administrator. Dr. Benjamin Gregory, who knew him well, said of him that 'his cheerfulness was radiant, and most healthily catching; and being broadly built and blessed with a steady flow of spirits he seemed likely to enjoy a long and energetic ministerial career. He was a thorough Methodist preacher, lively, spiritual, energetic, indefatigable.' He was very proficient in mathematics, as well as in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He had gone to Kingswood at the early age of eight; and his scholastic attainments there were so great that his name appears in the school records as the winner of the gold medal and head of the school. His stay at school was extended beyond the normal tenure by a year, and at fifteen(1) he was installed as one of the assistant masters. That he excelled in the inherited and somewhat rare gift of imparting knowledge may be gleaned from the tradition, handed down by a distinguished contemporary, that the boys would rather do sums with him than play games! Whether that be a literal fact or not it is unquestionably true that he had a singular teaching power, which, in very different forms, reappeared in his four distinguished sons—William Fiddian, Head Master of the Leys School, Cambridge, and famous Greek Testament scholar; John Fletcher, Senior Wrangler at Cambridge and now Lord Moulton of Bank, G.C.B., F.R.S.¹; Richard Green, until

¹ Lord Moulton has died since these pages went to press.

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lately Professor of Literary Interpretation in the University of Chicago, and now retired in England; and James Egan, the subject of the present volume, the only one of the brothers whose course of life did not make possible the acquisition of a university degree, but who manifested an ability in no respect less than that of the others, though totally unlike.

As a child he was delicate, and it was not until he had reached his teens that his physical constitution became at all robust; and even then, his great enemy of after years—asthma—which harassed him to the very last, had already made its appearance. Only a few fragments remain concerning his early days, but, as was the case with his brothers, the influence of the home was the most potent factor in his boyhood. The story of his education in the elementary rules of arithmetic and algebra by his father while in the act of shaving is quite in keeping with other stories of that father's power of doing three things at once—hearing one son construe his Latin, guiding another in the intricacies of Greek grammar while he himself was wrestling with the addition of figures in some official schedule!

And while the influence of the father was great, that of the mother was perhaps greater still. Catherine Fiddian was the daughter of Samuel Fiddian, a brass founder in Birmingham, and her attainments afford a striking parallel to those of Maria Bakewell already referred to. Intellectually strong, and with a spiritual nature of a very high type, she was in every sense an ideal partner. Her remarkable foresight, moreover, in relation to current topics, as well as the courage with which she expressed her opinions, made her count outside her home as well as inside, and even members of Parliament were to

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be found seeking her advice. She was a martyr to headaches—a characteristic repeated in at least two of her sons; and when she was thus laid aside Egan would take the younger children out of the house into the fields to ensure greater quiet for the sufferer; when in the fields he would tell them vivid stories either delved out of books or produced by his own imaginative faculty, which even in those days was great. It was his joy in after life to reflect that he had been able thus to minister to his mother's relief; nor were these acts of filial love without their grateful acknowledgement.

As a minister's son he naturally went, as his father had gone, to Kingswood School, though he went at eleven years of age while his father had gone at eight! He remained there four years, Henry Jefferson being head master throughout the period. He had a curious difficulty in mastering Euclid, and his failure in this field was responsible for his being placed in a lower form than he would otherwise have entered. In other subjects he was far ahead of his class-mates, but the haze that hovered around the first four propositions was persistent and depressing, and Mr. Jefferson said to him one day, 'Well, Moulton, if you do not do better in Euclid I shall have to alter my opinion of you.' But light dawned at last, and in a somewhat unconventional fashion; for he who had learnt arithmetic and algebra from his father while shaving, suddenly entered into an understanding of Euclid while in his bath! The rationale of the fourth proposition broke like a flash upon his hitherto beclouded mind. It became as clear as daylight, and from that day Euclid ceased to trouble him. His mind grew apace, and he rose rapidly to a high place in the school: and it was

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not any intellectual defects which stood in the way of his passing on to the university.

Before leaving his schooldays two matters call for mention in view of his future career. The first is that it was while at school that he conquered his painful propensity to stammering. It was a very real handicap when at school, and no one needs to be told that his schoolfellows subjected him to a persecution that knew little pity. But he refused to be discouraged, and he made determined effort to conquer the impediment. With characteristic strength of will he offered—to the great amusement of the boys—to recite at one of the school concerts. They attempted to dissuade him with a volley of mimicry; but it was all to no purpose. He persisted, and the recitation was given with credit, to the surprise of all. But the incident affords an interesting foretaste of the resoluteness and strength of will that conquered so many difficulties in the Tongan period. In the second place, when Mr. Jefferson offered to take a Hebrew class in out-of-school hours, Egan Moulton joined it. The importance of this departure cannot be over-rated in view of the work he was called upon to do. The greatest of all his efforts for the island race—the Revision of the Tongan Bible—would have lost much of its worth had he not been able to translate from the original Hebrew, as well as the Greek, into the vernacular of the islands.

On leaving school the way opened for him to go to Castle Donington in Derbyshire, where his uncle, Mr. Joseph Moulton, kept a chemist's shop. To him he was apprenticed for four years—another priceless preparation for his as yet unknown future, when he was to be charged with manifold responsibilities

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for healing not only souls but bodies. The sojourn at Castle Donington, moreover, was fruitful in other directions as well. His uncle was a man of parts and piety, who, as he was wont to admit, had made the vital mistake of his life in resisting the call of God to the Christian ministry, for he realized that thereby he had limited the sphere of his usefulness. Whether he was correct in his estimate or not, he was a man who had the qualities which would have made him an ideal pastor. He was evangelical to the backbone, and loved the house of God. He was perhaps at his best in the old-fashioned class-meeting, and his nephew Egan often testified to the spiritual education which he received through that channel. Neither did it stop there, for in future years theological students in another hemisphere would bear witness to the spiritual uplift which they received when, as their tutor, he led them in class.

It was in this small sphere that the latent strength of his character began to manifest itself, as well as that versatility which was so marked a feature of his public work throughout life. At Castle Donington the charge of the musical service at the chapel was entrusted to him and he was both organist and choirmaster; and any one who knows anything about choirs and their ways knows perfectly well that they are capable of harmony—or otherwise! For one special occasion, when anthems had been carefully prepared, the members of the choir formed a conspiracy to abstain from singing in the morning anthem, the ground being that one of the chief singers took unbrage at the solo being entrusted to another! When the time for the anthem came and the chord was struck, which was to have been the

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signal for the soprano to lead off with the theme, followed by the other principals, there was no response. Then for the first time did it dawn upon him that there was something amiss; but nothing daunted he led off himself in his powerful baritone. By this time conscience was troubling the other principals, with the result that when their turn arrived, one after another they came in at their proper place, and the *tout ensemble* was so great a success that no one in the congregation guessed what had transpired in the singing-gallery!

But it was in connexion with foreign missions that James Egan Moulton achieved his most outstanding success at Castle Donington. The annual foreign missionary meeting was a red-letter day there, as it was wont to be in so many of our smaller places; and for two years in succession two young men of conspicuous ability and acknowledged oratorical powers were invited—speakers most acceptable to the people—with Mr. Moulton to bring up the rear. Strange to say, for some unaccountable reason, on both occasions those two speakers, who throughout the year uniformly delighted their hearers, utterly failed. They floundered about for a while, and then sat down with the consciousness of having had a bad time, while the less gifted speaker, handicapped by his infirmity, raised the audience to a high pitch of enthusiasm. Stranger still was the fact that on the latter occasion he chose as his subject, ‘King George of Tonga,’ when, as yet, no thought of entering the ministry had entered his head, still less the thought of that particular field. As he was leaving the building on the later occasion an old man, placing his hands on his head, said, ‘Young man, th’ Lord manes tha to be a missionary.’ So it seemed and

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so it eventually turned out, but as yet no such thought had framed itself in his mind, and the stammering tongue seemed to be a fatal bar. At last he took the matter in earnest prayer to Him with whom nothing is impossible. 'O Lord!' he cried, 'I am perfectly willing to work for Thee, but oh! remove this impediment!' It was a petition begotten in agony of soul; and then and there it was answered. The impediment disappeared, and no one who knew him in after life would ever have imagined that he had been a stutterer. But, more than that, the wonderful release from his disability decided for him, once and for all, his life's work, and stamped upon his innermost soul that reliance upon the power of God to help in every emergency and extremity, which so markedly characterized him in his later days of stress and storm.

The way now seemed clear for him to move along the line which had of late been ever present with him, and he placed before the Superintendent of the circuit the matter of his desire to offer himself as a candidate for the ministry. He was kindly received by him, and all encouragement was given. He acquitted himself with credit in his trial sermon, and also in his examination before the Quarterly Meeting. But there was one member of that meeting who, for some reason that never transpired, had a strong prejudice against him and strove hard to bias others against him, with the result that there was a small majority against his candidature going forward. Those who voted thus acknowledged afterwards that they could not explain why they acted thus: they were probably swayed by the sheer force of another's prejudice rather than by any convictions of their own: but the result was the same, what-

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ever the motive, and it spelled 'rejection.' But he was not depressed. He had obeyed what he felt to be a call, and had offered himself. If that offer was not accepted by Him to whom it was made, the responsibility was not his but God's, and his mind was at ease on the matter. But as the days went on the old conviction returned with greater force than ever, and certain changes in his business arrangements removed some of the difficulties which had baulked him before.

At the very time of his rejection by the Castle Donington Quarterly Meeting the head of a shipping firm in North Shields—his birthplace—wrote to him, knowing nothing of what had transpired, offering him an appointment in the office. The offer was accepted, and Castle Donington with all its hallowed associations was left behind.

Under the new conditions he showed marked ability both in handling figures and in dealing with difficult and delicate situations, the nature of which cannot be dwelt upon here. Suffice it to say that his services were requisitioned as secretary of a shipping association, in and around the district, and his capacity was widely recognized. Fortune seemed to smile upon him to so great a degree that business experts prophesied for him a rapid rise to wealth. But this was not to be, for to him there was a higher ambition than the attainment of commercial success, and that was the work of the Christian ministry. To the ordinary eye it was a 'great refusal,' but to him it was a call of God, a conviction which contrary circumstances could not crush: and to the surprise of all who knew him he turned his back on the chances of commercial prosperity and offered himself once more as a candidate for the

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Wesleyan Methodist ministry, in spite of the misgivings of the Superintendent, who told him he could do better service as a layman than a minister, because his commercial prospects were so exceptionally good. But no amount of reconsideration could alter his purpose, and the minister soon came to recognize that this was a deep-seated conviction, and he showed him the utmost cordiality and sympathy.

Opposition came, however, and from a most extraordinary quarter—as it would appear to us to-day. According to the ruling of the Conference it was permissible for a Quarterly Meeting to send forward only one candidate at a time. No trace of such a rule is to be found in Dr. Simon's *Summary of Methodist Law*, and if it was ever operative it was probably only in view of some special glut of candidates, and has lapsed since. But it was put forward as an obstacle to his candidature, as there were already two others in the field; and they possessed the added advantage not only of priority of offer but priority of examination in consequence of their names commencing with earlier letters than his! But unforeseen developments took place before the Quarterly Meeting was held. The first candidate, for some reason or other, decided, of his own free will, to retire from so trying an ordeal. As for the second, suspicions had been aroused in the minds of some of the brethren that his extraordinary pulpit achievements were not his own work, but were memorized from the sermons of some half-forgotten master of the art of preaching. An exhaustive search was made, and it was discovered that the suspicion was only too well founded. Possessed of a marvellous memory, he had appropriated the masterpieces of a preacher whose sermons had fallen into

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almost complete oblivion; and trusting to that oblivion had palmed the sermons off as his own. When he was accused of this act of deceit, he made full confession; and there was an end of the second candidate. This strange elimination of rivals left Mr. Moulton as the only candidate. He was unanimously accepted, and passed on to the next stage: and the Camborne Conference of 1862, which ordained William Fiddian Moulton, the eldest of the four brothers, accepted the second brother as a candidate.

His offer was for foreign work, and he was put down on the 'stations' for China. But at that very time King Thakombau of Fiji, desirous of obtaining missionaries for his group of islands over which the gospel dawn had just begun to break, sent an urgent request for two men, and emphasized the earnestness of the appeal by forwarding their passage-money. Thus Mr. Moulton's appointment came to be changed from China to Fiji: and learning that the Rev. R. B. Lyth, a lately returned missionary from those islands, was residing at Woodbridge, he asked if he might have the privilege of residing with him for a short time so as to acquire some knowledge of the language used by the people amongst whom he was called to labour. With him he remained for six months, and made such progress that he prepared and wrote a sermon in the Fijian tongue during his voyage out to Australia, which commenced in February 1863.

Like many a missionary who has sacrificed sacred home ties in order to preach the gospel in less favoured lands, his decision to go abroad involved parting from the lady whom he was ultimately to make his wife. Miss Emma Knight was the daughter

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of Mr. James Knight of Newark, a fine specimen of old-time Methodism. The youngest son of a farmer, when only fourteen years old he was articled by his father to a firm of solicitors in Newark, and in that office he served with ability and faithfulness for sixty years. Throughout that period he was closely identified with every branch of church life. He was the most conspicuous figure in the Barnby Gate Chapel, and as a local preacher was highly respected throughout the circuit. He filled almost every office in the church, and when he passed away at the ripe age of ninety-two he left behind him a noble record of service. In this he has been worthily followed by his son, Mr. W. E. Knight, who has served his town and his church with conspicuous devotion. The Wesleyan associations were still further strengthened by the fact that Mr. James Knight's wife was an Eggleston—another family with long Methodist antecedents—and her brother, the Rev. John Eggleston, was identified with the first Australasian Conference of 1855, ultimately becoming Missionary Secretary and President.

The journey out to Australia in those days was a lengthy and weary business; and although the *Merrie England* was as fine a type of sailing vessel as could be found, thirteen weeks had to be spent on shipboard. But the diary which Mr. Moulton kept and sent home is full of interest despite the inevitable lack of variety in respect of topic. He always manifested a wholesome knack of making much out of little, which is a real asset under conditions of monotony. With most of the passengers, moreover, he felt perfectly at home; but, as always happens on shipboard—and off—there were one or two who contrived to make themselves generally disagreeable.

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Conspicuous among these was a young officer who flung sneers at religion and rode the high military horse, as if in no other profession was manliness or courage to be found, least of all in the ministerial ranks. But he had mistaken his man; for when his petty persecution became insufferable Mr. Moulton challenged him to a friendly combat in respect of acts of daring which, at any rate to the uninitiated, seemed full of danger. One of these was a race round the taffrails of the ship, whilst another was the mounting of the rigging and climbing to the top of the main mast, descending on the other side. In both of these contests the military man was beaten, to his great chagrin.

But it must not be imagined that such diversions occupied the bulk of the time for this missionary aspirant on his voyage. There were subjects to be mastered, which meant hours of withdrawal and of application; and hence he might have been found any morning high up in the cross-trees of one of the masts, with limbs so interlocked in the framework that dislodgement was well-nigh impossible, and far away from the hum of voices. He was also deeply interested in the science of navigation, and was often found in the captain's cabin working out for the first mate the calculations for the day as to the ship's position.

His arrival in Australia at the end of June 1863 served to meet a serious difficulty from which the Methodist Church was suffering at the moment. It had previously been decided to establish a connexional college, and a suitable building had been obtained on an excellent site on the Parramatta River, about twelve miles from Sydney. Further, the Conference appointed the Rev. J. A.

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Manton, a saintly and scholarly man, as the President, but there was no head master available. Application had been made to England on the matter, but communications were so slow that there was still a gap when Mr. Moulton arrived. As he had all the requisite qualifications he was appointed to the post, pending further developments. So to Newington College he went, and we read in his diary the laconic entry, 'Went to Newington College and commenced that institution July 1863.' It is interesting to note that less than a dozen years later his brother William went to Cambridge and commenced that institution known as The Leys School, which has so much in common with Newington. Though under the Methodist Conference, both schools have opened their door to boys of other communions; and this fact has unquestionably borne happy fruit in wider co-operation in the world outside.

The testimony of those who were trained under him points to a genius for making study interesting, which is reminiscent of his father's earlier days. We do not hear of any Australian boy so exemplary in character as rather to prefer to work sums with Mr. Moulton than to play games, but we do learn that his methods were so efficient that an inspector, who visited the school only a few months after Mr. Moulton commenced his work, placed on record his verdict that the boys had learned more in six months there than boys in ordinary schools learned in two years. One secret of his success undoubtedly was his capacity to identify himself with the boys in all their pursuits. During school hours he insisted upon earnest hard work, but as soon as the hands of the clock pointed to play-time he would pick up the smallest boy, join in the rush to the play-

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ground, and, in spite of his self-imposed handicap, strive for the coveted honour of reaching it first. This energy both in play and in work exercised a powerful influence over his boys, and constituted a standing appeal to them for strenuousness and earnestness of endeavour; while in the social circle and at the supper-table his gifts for music and for conversation made him a welcome member of any group, whether of boys or adults.

One episode of the Newington period deserves mention in detail because of one self-revealing characteristic. It was at this time that he had one of his narrow escapes from drowning. His own record is as follows: 'October 8, 1863. Delivered this day, by the mercy of God, through the instrumentality of Andrew Howison and Robert McKeown, from death by drowning at Haslam's Creek. Sank twice, one of the boys says three times. Was kept by God in perfect peace. Presence of mind the whole time. Hallelujah!' The following letter, by one concerned, sets out the whole story, and brings to the front an interesting psychological phenomenon. The writer was the Rev. R. McKeown, Rector of St. Mary's, Waverley.

WAVERLEY,

October 14, 1911.

I am glad that something is to be done for the memory of Dr. Moulton. It is worth perpetuating. . . . It is very good of you to speak so kindly of my performance at Haslam's Creek, but really the 'heroic' was elsewhere. I made a dash for Mr. Moulton when I saw him sink. He seized me first, and we sank together several times. He said afterwards that he felt he was

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drowning me, and he let me go. I swam ashore and Howison tackled the job, with the same results. Then three of us joined hands in a life line and got both ashore. You will understand that we were now on the wrong side of the Creek and hadn't even a costume. Howison was exhausted, so I took him on my back, and offered to do the same for Mr. Moulton. But, notwithstanding all he had been through he insisted on making another effort to swim if I could fasten a rope round him and go ahead. The rope saved disaster.

The heroism, as you will see, was with the master and with Howison. The one thing fixed in my mind when struggling in the water was that a drowning man never lets go, and that I was doomed. My surprise was great when I found myself free, and my admiration greater when I knew how the liberation had come.

We cannot pass from Newington College without a reference to his influence upon the Divinity students, for the Newington of that day was not only a public school but it had its recognized place in the training of candidates for the Methodist ministry. The influence which was potent with the schoolboy in the things of the secular curriculum became more potent still when he was face to face with the eternal truths of the gospel; and he loved to use his remarkable voice and his equally remarkable memory in unfolding to students the richness of our inheritance in Christian song. It goes without saying that such a tutor was singularly approachable, and that budding scholars and inexperienced preachers always found him ready to talk about their work, and help them in their perplexities.

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This manysided ministry counted for all the more because, although in theory he was only head master of the school, he was in fact president of the College as well. The Rev. J. A. Manton, the president, was, as has been noted already, the type of a perfect English gentleman, and was both a saint and a scholar. But he was far from robust, and after a few months of happy co-operation, during which a strong bond of affection was formed between the man of ripe experience and the youthful enthusiast, Mr. Moulton found himself in sole command on Mr. Manton's death in September, 1864. But he was ably seconded by his colleague, Mr. Johnstone, and Mrs. Manton, with her choice and wholesome spirit, was an asset so long as she remained at Newington. The result was unqualified success for the school. The numbers so rapidly increased that the limit of accommodation for boarders was rapidly reached, and there were fifty applications for the first vacancy. The educational standard was high, as is shown by the report of the inspector already quoted; the moral tone was very good; and indeed the success was so conspicuous that earnest efforts were made to keep him in the colony. But he was a missionary to his finger-tips, and nothing could turn him from his determination to go to the mission field as soon as conditions were favourable.

One condition became favourable very shortly, to the joy of Mr. Moulton—and another! When he had landed in Sydney the previous year the fact of his being unmarried had been a difficulty in the way of his proceeding to the Fijian Islands, and thus a factor in his being diverted to Newington. Reference has already been made to his engagement to Miss Knight of Newark; and no more

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need be said than that time and distance had left their mutual regard unaltered, and in the latter part of 1864 she sailed on the *La Hogue* for Sydney. It was hard of course for her to leave home under any circumstances: it was harder and more bitter to find herself in Sydney looking in vain to find the one face she sought! What happened exactly no one knows, except that some one had blundered, and that while Miss Knight was eating her heart out in the harbour, Mr. Moulton was waiting in breathless excitement for the message telling him of the expected arrival of the ship—a message that never came until after its arrival. But a kind friend, the Rev. R. Sellors, came on board and was the first to welcome her. He took her on shore, and placed her under the care of Mrs. J. Cowlishaw, at whose house she spent her first night in Sydney. On December 23 they were married in Wesley Church, Melbourne, by the Rev. John Eggleston, the uncle of both the bride and the bridegroom.

They returned to Sydney to await, as they thought, their definite appointment to Fiji at the next Conference. It must not be thought that leaving Newington College was a light task to Mr. Moulton. He loved the work, and there was no doubt whatever as to his success in that field. From a worldly, social point of view the post was, moreover, a most desirable one; and it is a high tribute to their character that these two young people chose to go forth to all the privations and perils of pioneer work among island peoples when they might have done useful service for their church under conditions so much more congenial.

But Fiji was not to be his destination, any more than China, for which he had originally been put

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down. Amid the delicate and perplexing operations of 'stationing' a letter reached the President begging that the Conference would send Mr. Moulton to Tonga for the purpose of setting up an educational establishment there, 'for the young chiefs of my land.' The request bore the seal and signature of King George Tubou of Tonga; and the directness of the document lay in the fact of the specified name of the choice.

King George had, ten years previously, realized that ignorance was the most direct clog to a nation's progress, and with pathetic insistence he had applied Hosea's words, 'My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge.' One of the European missionaries resident there at the time must have heard of the young Newington head master and his work, and have suggested his name to the intelligent monarch. When the matter was placed before Conference it was unanimously decided to accede to the request; and on the final draft of the Stations there appeared the entry: 'Tonga: James Egan Moulton.' Turning his back on Fiji, and burying for ever the manuscript of that Fijian sermon, so carefully prepared on his way out, Mr. Moulton and his wife embarked in the *Ocean* on May 2, 1865, for that very group of islands where the monarch was the 'King George of Tonga' whom he had taken for his theme years before as a young man speaking at a Castle Donington missionary meeting. Strange coincidence! But after all, *was* it a coincidence? Probably not, although there was no conscious association between the two, so far as Mr. Moulton was concerned.

The voyage was a very protracted and dangerous one. When nearing Tonga the vessel was caught in a terrific storm which seemed to threaten the

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existence of the craft and its passengers. Eventually they cast anchor in Nukualofa Harbour on the thirtieth of May. It was with great relief that they heard the grating of the keel of the ship's boat on the sandy beach, but the unconventional method by which his young bride was transferred to the shore in the arms of a dusky native was somewhat disconcerting to the young husband. They found a very warm reception waiting for them, led by the Rev. J. Whewell, and their hearts were filled with thankfulness for preserving mercies, and joyous anticipation of useful service.

CHAPTER II

THE LAND AND PEOPLE

BURIED away in the Pacific Ocean, far from the ken of civilized man, a mere cluster of tiny specks, standing between 18 deg. and 23 deg. south latitude, and 173 deg. and 176 deg. west longitude, lies a group of islands marked on the map as the Friendly Islands, but now more generally known as Tonga, from the largest. In them are contained more than a hundred and fifty islands, of which fifteen rise to a considerable height, thirty-five are moderately elevated, and the remainder low. There are three principal groups—Tonga or Tongatabu, with its elevated, picturesque and fertile adjunct, Eua, situated to the South; Ha'abai, an archipelago of islands, of which Lifuka is the centre and capital; and Ha'afuluhao (better known as Vava'u, from its largest island) in the north. Taking a direct line from Eua to Vava'u, the group proper covers a distance of, probably, no more than 200 miles, and contains but about 200 square miles of land. There are two other small, but very interesting, islands lying outside this area; Niua Fo'ou (Boscawen), the asylum of the dreaded Tongan Vikings, and Niua Tobutabu (Keppel's), with its mystical fish, whose very rare appearance, if seen by the human eye, was the harbinger of good—both in a northerly direction, more or less; while Pylstaart Island limits the extent of the Tongan Kingdom to the south.

Generally speaking the character of the land of

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this group is not atolllic, but owes its existence to subsidence causes. Not far away to the south of Tongatabu the H.M.S. *Penguin*, the surveying ship, discovered in 1898 the deepest ocean-depth then known.¹ It is interesting also to observe that, on the western fringe of this group, runs a chain of one of the greatest volcanic ranges in the world. Its soil is most prolific and every tropical fruit has its true home here. Its climate, however, though superior to any other of the islands of the Pacific, is humid and enervating, and especially trying between the months of December and March, the hurricane season. But unlike the majority of other islands in these seas, it is absolutely immune from the ravages of malaria. From April and on to September, fanned by the pleasing trade-winds, life is very enjoyable in this respect, and particularly so in Tongatabu. A passing visitor cannot but be struck with the luxuriant growth, the exquisite variety and blaze of colour of trees and flowering shrubs, the graceful wave of the abounding and beneficent cocoanut palm, together with the glittering sheen of the sea, the blue of the cloudless sky, the never-ending line of the white stretches of sand fringing the shores and, at low tide, foamed-tossed reefs.

And the people that looked with inquisitive eye upon their new missionary? Well-made, strongly built, some tall of stature but mostly of full medium height, pleasing in form and feature, light of heart with, apparently, few cares to distress; both men and women showing a dignified gait and carriage and a quiet courtesy of manner when accosted. How unlike all this to the idea in vogue of a cannibal people and heathen nation! And the thought upper-

¹ Since then Japanese waters have won this distinction.

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most in the mind must at once be, 'Whence this people, with such marked characteristics of their own?'

For how long the Tongan had been in possession of his home in the Pacific before his emergence from obscurity it is impossible to conjecture. The first notice of his existence appears in an entry in the journal of that famous explorer, Abel Tasman, who touched at Tongatabu in 1643. He saw there, it seems, no weapons of warfare; so, apparently, the people lived in comparative peace with each other and had not as yet caught the infection of cruelty and bloodshed which afterwards characterized them and for which their association with the Fijians at a later period is held responsible. But earlier than even Tasman it appears that Schouten and Lemaire, with their high-pooped Dutch ships, anchored off Niua Tobutabu (Keppels) and repulsed an attack made upon them by the natives. A hundred and twenty-four years after Tasman, in 1767, Wallis also touched, but only for one day, at the same island. But these navigators do not seem to have done more than pay a passing visit.

The credit, therefore, for having first obtained any adequate knowledge of these islands and people must rest with Captain Cook, who in 1773 brought up at the western end of the main island, at Hihifo, and anchored in what was afterwards known as Maria Bay. He is responsible for the name of the whole group, The Friendly Islands, in the very choice of which this wary and intrepid navigator only showed himself the prey of a misguided judgement. It is well known how that, behind all their simulated show of friendliness, they had even then formed a plot to club him. In 1777 he paid a second visit; and the

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survey work that he did, and the comparatively accurate soundings that he took and recorded, are a marvel to all, considering the naturally imperfect character of the instruments at his disposal at that early age, and constitute a crowning proof of his ability.

But the ultimate results of his first visit had a much higher issue than that for which his exploration was planned. We are told that the primary purpose of Cook's first embarkation from England was in the interests of science—to view the approaching transit of Venus at Tahiti under more favourable conditions than the atmosphere of the homeland afforded. In the providence of God—like the search for the lost asses of Kish—it was made the medium of the greatest of spiritual results. It subsequently led to the outpouring of the gospel rays upon the darkness of that island and the Christianization of the whole of the peoples inhabiting the group. But we are anticipating. Let us ask again, 'Whence came they' and 'where was their original habitat?'

The question is more easily asked than answered, for the solution is wrapped in mystery. Ethnologically, it is stated, there is a wide difference between the Fijian and the Tongan. The former belong to the great Melanesian family. The latter, some have insisted, should be regarded as Malayan and, while, without doubt, there is the sprinkling of that race in the Tongan feature and cast, yet such a classification does not meet with the approval of the expert; and hence for want of a better, they have been termed Polynesians. On the other hand some have earmarked them with the title of Malayo-Polynesians. The latest—and it certainly can lay claim to ingenuity with a fair degree of justice—is that of

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Sawaiori (SAMOA, HAWAII, MAORI)—a delineation, coined for the purpose, combining a syllable from each of the outstanding peoples.

As regards the peopling of Tonga, there seems no reason to doubt that their previous resting-place, immediately prior to their present abode, was Samoa. The same may be, most probably, said of the Maoris of New Zealand, who may well have drifted there from Savai'i (Samoa). The Samoans, Tongans, and Maoris are brothers and sisters; on that there seems to be a consensus of opinion. Their language is very closely allied and, in other respects, there is a considerable similarity. The very name, Tonga, means 'south'; and it does not require a very vivid imagination to draw the conclusion that the name was given with reference to the direction taken from the land they had last left—Samoa. Ha'abai, the central group of islands, is only another form of Savai'i.

But even what has been said does not solve, absolutely, the question of their origin. It is generally acknowledged that in the past they have been great travellers. And the seafaring propensity still strongly characterizes them. They have, in the course of many centuries, journeyed far, and the comparatively close proximity of the islands down along the Malay Archipelago would render a journey of considerable magnitude not impracticable.

But as to their original home? In the writings of some of the earlier missionaries to Tonga, Mr. West in particular, we read that the resemblances of many of the Tongans to the Hebrew people in features, customs, and practices has left its impression on their minds. The rite of circumcision (still in vogue, by the way), and of the tabu; the offering

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of the first-fruits; the institution of the priesthood; the division of the year into months, even the intercalary month being noticed with its distinct position and name recognized—these and others, perhaps, that could be mentioned seemed to suggest a pristine connexion with the Hebrew race. To this it might have been added that the Tongans have traditions of the Flood; Maui, one of the gods worshipped, is identical with Noah and one of the Tangaloa family, a mythical hero, is identifiable with Tubal Cain, for he is the great blacksmith. Whence could they have obtained such ideas and preserved such records? They had no written language, and all history had to be handed down by word of mouth. It seems feasible enough to suppose that the ancestry of the long past had continuously handed down the traditions that they sacredly guarded.

When, moreover, the Bible was being translated a second time, the translator confined himself to the Hebrew original as the basis of his operations. In the process he was struck, from time to time, with the fact that the Hebrew original and the Tongan equivalent were almost identical. That his view was correct was openly acknowledged by one well fitted to judge, when the matter was referred to him in England, with the further admission that the Tongan possibly was the older form. This seemed to point to the fact that the Tongan was originally of Hebrew extraction, astounding as that statement may appear: for there is scarcely any stronger argument than language with which to determine the racial connexions. The discovery seemed to corroborate the impression long formed by the translator in question that the Tongans originally came from somewhere in the south of Arabia.

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The religion of the Tongans, as it existed when first known to the civilized world, 'incorporated no abstract principles of belief. It was rather a system of despotism, in which deities, ceremonies, and restrictions, had been indefinitely multiplied, till it presented a chaos of dark superstition, into which the population plunged headlong through slavish fear and ignorance. . . . No spirit of benevolence pervaded the system. It abounded in punishments for the present life and in dark threatenings for the future. Bulotu, the Tongan Paradise, was reserved only for the spirits of the departed chiefs and persons of rank, who became, in turn, the servants of the presiding genius of Bulotu. . . . Of the fate of the poor tu'a (commoner) there was no certainty. . . . Savage rites, and deities who delighted in mischief and blood; a cruel and rapacious priesthood; a despotic and oppressive government; inhuman faiths and absurd superstitions—under these the people were held in abject bondage.'¹

We cannot here describe in detail the early state and condition of the Tongan people prior to the coming of the gospel, or of the work done by the brave and heroic band of pioneers, who were made noble instruments in God's hands for this work resulting in the pulling down of the strongholds of Satan in these islands. Suffice it to say that a faithful band of missionaries laboured from 1822 to 1865, amid countless difficulties and dangers, and experienced the truth of the apostle's insistent declaration that the gospel was 'the power of God unto salvation.' The list of their names is a lengthy one, reaching from that of Walter Lawry and John Thomas to the subject of our sketch, and

¹ West's *Polynesia*, p. 255, 256.

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they form inseparable links in a noble chain of heroic deeds.

It was as a result of their earnest and successful efforts that when Mr. Moulton arrived in these islands he found all traces of heathenism practically gone, and the men that were once 'possessed with the demons,' were 'dwelling at peace, worshipping the God of Heaven, with the conscious knowledge of Christ as their Saviour, and holding the full assurance of a life beyond the grave.

The land was endowed with prolific resources, growing freely all tropical fruits and foods. The cocoanut palm gave a prodigal supply, as did the yam, the staple food of the country, while bananas and kumalas (sweet potatoes) were easily and quickly produced. The people were happy and contented without the urgent demands or corroding cares of the more civilized world: and nature met generously all claims incidental to their native wants. The week had its round of common tasks; for the plantations called for physical labour, vigorous and unrelenting until the yam-seed was planted, and then there were the other pursuits such as house or canoe-building or fishing which claimed their attention. Then Saturday came with its call for providing food for the Sabbath—hence its Tongan cognomen of *tokonaki* or 'preparation': so that Sunday, now the Day of Rest, found them diligent in their obedience to the call of the native drum for worship in the House of God. Such were the conditions of the people to whom Mr. Moulton came, happy in their free and easy communal life in a land that God had made for them bountiful in the extreme.

But in the very generosity of such an environment there is ever to be found a subtle

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menace to the spirit of a newly-born race. The bias of human nature is not easily destroyed, and although they had practically emerged from the darkness of heathenism there was much to be done before they could be regarded as established in their higher standard of living. The 'infant period' for such an island people is not to be reckoned as a matter of a few brief years: and it is the refusal to take cognizance of this fact that has led so many to hurl their ill-informed criticisms against the work of the missionaries and write them down at once as dismal failures. The keen-sighted ruler, King George of Tonga, intelligent far beyond his age, grasped this central truth, and it led, as we have stated, to his urgent request for Mr. Moulton to take up the task of supplying the much-needed want—the intellectual uplift of his people upon the spiritual basis laid. Education of a very elementary nature had been, it is true, initiated in the past, but, useful and necessary though it was, it was felt to be scarcely adequate for raising the intellectual power of a nation. It had served its day. The time had come for a higher standard, and the man had arrived who was to make the experiment.

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDING OF A COLLEGE

RISE, GROWTH, AND CURRICULUM

SUCH, then, was the state of these islands of the 'fronded palm,' when James Egan Moulton and his young bride arrived on May 30, 1865, after the stormy voyage narrated. The people were ripe for intellectual advance and they provided a specially interesting field for the experiment of the mental development of an island-people on the evangelistic basis formed.

The race upon which such a trial was to be made proved itself to be worthy of the attempt, though the materials were, at this early period, truly raw and uncertain. It was virgin soil, however, which has at once its advantages. It has been shown that the mental capacity was equal to, if not in advance of, the best of the other South Sea Islanders: and certainly the field was distinctly promising. Still, it was only in its embryonic state and much depended upon the teacher himself and his method.

To the educational enthusiast no more highly interesting problem could be presented than that of adapting European educational methods to meet the needs of the Pacific islander, and few more difficult. But the young missionary was not deterred by the inevitable difficulties of the situation, and he faced it with his natural courage and resourcefulness.

To teach in a foreign tongue, after the first step of acquiring the language itself has been achieved,

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there still remain great difficulties in the imparting of instruction. The foreign atmosphere of thought and ideas is so totally different that, while one may easily undertake to make oneself understood in common parlance, it is quite a different matter to be able to think as they would think and to explain as they would explain.

To the language then first, as the only possible stepping-stone, Mr. Moulton applied himself with characteristic zeal. The first Sunday, we are told, he read the hymns and lessons. In three months he preached his first sermon. This is index enough of his capacity to learn a new language. The tenacity of his memory in this department came as a great boon to him, and he added to this by employing a native instructor, so that the correct pronunciation was at once readily acquired. Immediate difficulties could be easily remedied by ready application to the Rev. J. Whewell, who had first welcomed him to the work, and in whose hospitable home he and Mrs. Moulton lived for some time until a new house was built,—and built to a great extent by himself, for carpenters were few and far between in those days of pioneering mission life. The house was after the Tongan model—a long conical roof of thatch supported on huge pillars with base buried a few feet in the ground. The rest was European with its weather-boarded sides, joists and flooring-boards: and this part he carried through with his own hand. The house was soon completed, a building that stood the strain and stress of storm and hurricane for about thirteen years, and finally was wrecked by one of those unfriendly 'blows' with which mission life is so well acquainted. That it was severely tried a few years before it died this unnatural death, the writer

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has a very distinct reminiscence, when the whole family and what goods were necessary were rapidly transferred, one dark night when the hurricane was at its height, to a small one-roomed European structure in the College grounds, because the perceptible movement of the great pillars, on which the whole roof rested, made such a hurried exit imperative. But for twelve years at least before its inmates left it empty to proceed to England, it was the happiest of homes and saw the rapid rise and extraordinary progress of the evolution of the College, in whose grounds it stood.

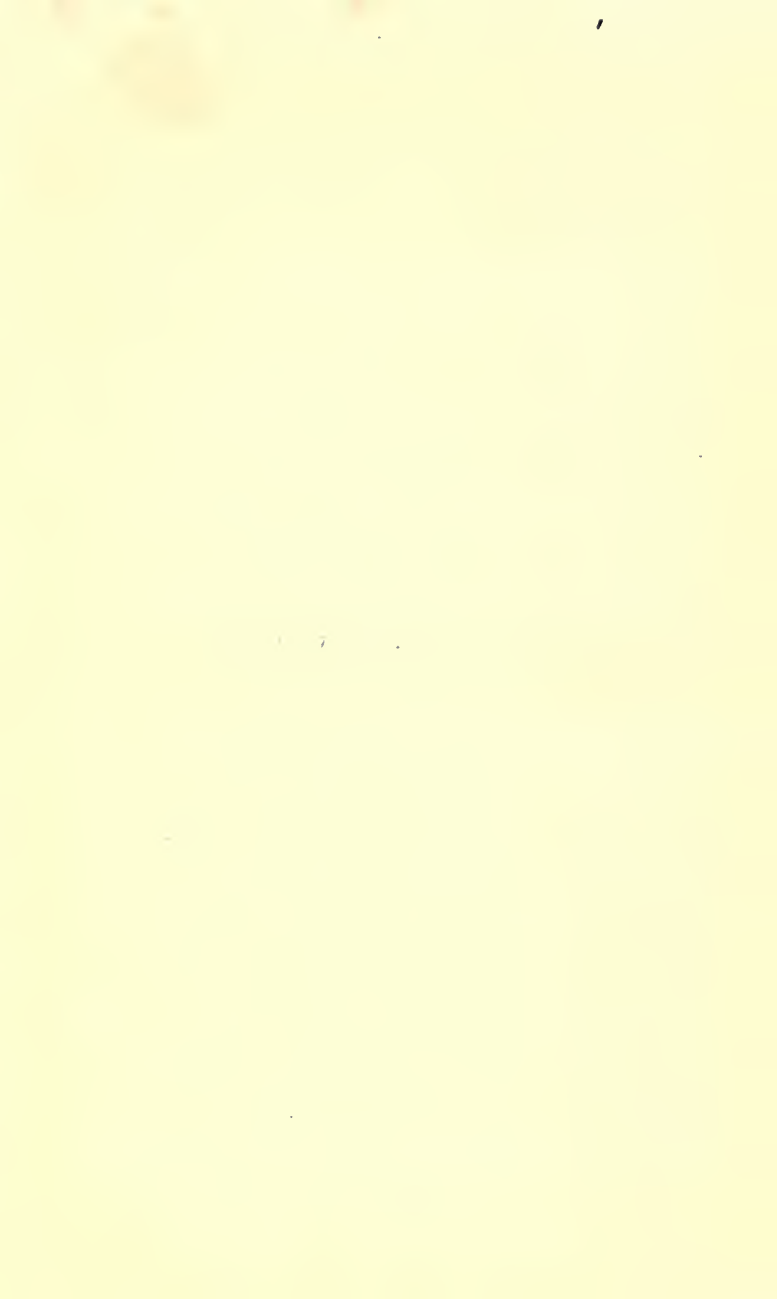
As the forty years' commemoration of Tubou College was celebrated in 1906, the actual inauguration of the Institution may be said to date from the year 1866. The month was February. Its commencement was small. David Tonga, well-known throughout the Australian Commonwealth as a deputation with his wife Rachel, was the first 'boy' on the roll. He with a few others formed the nucleus. Of these few, one, though much behind in mental calibre, was, after a time, utilized as a Tutor so that David might have the benefit of additional instruction, the master realizing at a glance that such a step would fully repay him at a later date. Even at the outset, it was to him that difficulties of diction, &c., were referred. The idea would be explained at length, and the quick intellect of the pupil would speedily grasp the meaning, and, as quickly, would provide the correct Tongan equivalent. Thus by slow degrees, after this line-upon-line method, the transition from a civilized mode of thought would be effected: but it can easily be realized that even these small beginnings were only attained by ceaseless and patient application on the part of the teacher.



FRONT VIEW OF TUBOU COLLEGE.



INTERIOR OF TUBOU COLLEGE.



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From the very first it is evident that the purposes of Mr. Moulton aimed at a very high ideal. This finds illustration in the very title that he was led to give to the Educational Institution, of which he was the founder and moving power. Hitherto the modest and common name of Training Institution or Preparatory School had been in vogue, in which young men were engaged in preparing themselves for service in the Church, in some form or other. The early missionaries had invariably established schools, as had been stated, but the standard at which they aimed was naturally of a more elementary nature. This was to be no more nor less than a *College*, a word unknown to this island-race at the time and that needed a full explanatory notice in the pages of the early magazine which was identified with the establishment itself. Church and State, in their many divergent channels of departmental usefulness, were to centre their hopes and expectations upon it. From it the Church would draw its supply of ministers, stewards, officials, and teachers, both for day and Sabbath schools; while from it also the Government would seek its clerks, magistrates, and other officials. These aspirations might seem inordinately presumptuous in the days of small things; but, as he said to a veteran missionary who sought to turn him aside, 'he would have these or none.'

Although, from all accounts, the schools in the early days of Tongan mission history seem to have enjoyed a fairly long life, yet for some years before Mr. Moulton's arrival, such had been their uncertain fate that their existence for the space of six months and no longer had almost passed into a by-word. When, therefore, it was heralded forth to the Tongan world that a *College* was to be started,

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sarcasm was at once rife, when the wiseacres, with would-be prophetic insight, would curtly say, 'I suppose it will be a matter of six months only in this case also.'

It was a subject for congratulation that, from the very outset, the king gave his whole-hearted support to the full scheme; for without that support it would have had a hard task to survive the opposition which came from the benighted, in mind and nature.

While there were no poor people in these lovely islands, there was a distinct margin of difference between the chief and the commoner. So long as they remained in their own sphere of life, there would be no difficulty, for the status of each would be duly recognized. But it was otherwise when each chose to enter the new educational establishment. Outside there was one law for the commoner and another for the chief. Such a system of partiality, however, would be fatal to the discipline of school regulations, which can know no such invidious distinction. New scholars poured in, and as these were mostly from the lower ranks of the people, the difficulty of status was not fully realized at first. But one day it came to the ears of Mr. Moulton that the king's grandson was expected soon to enter the College, and the seriousness of the question at once came home to him. He waited on His Majesty, told him of the report that he had heard, and asked him if it were true. It was. 'Well, Tubou, I want it to be clearly understood at the outset that we have only one set of rules in the college for all alike, chief or commoner; if Wellington decides to enter, he must be prepared to abide by its regulations, despite his rank.' 'Certainly, Mr. Moulton,' was the reply. And the grandson entered in due course.

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That the king was true to his promise was revealed a little later, when, in accordance with the distribution of work, the chief in question was sent to the head master's residence as kitchen boy for the week. By some mischance, he burnt his finger. Soon the outside world heard, with great consternation, of the tragic disaster! The king's attendants came in haste to inform him of the fact, and his deep interest in their story apparently put them off their guard, for they were led to pour forth at length their hot displeasure at such menial work being imposed upon their favourite. The indignity of it!

The king listened for some time, and when they had finished he made them to understand very clearly what he thought of their obsequious flattery, and they went away in a chastened frame of mind. This settled at a stroke, once and for all, a vital question of College jurisprudence, and saved it from what might have been a serious cause of weakness, had the decision been less drastic.

Work such as this constituted a gigantic task for one who had scarcely been a year on the new mission field. Among other things there was the creation of school literature. With a few exceptions all the textbooks had to be written as time permitted, after school lessons were finished. It is during the engrossing work of this period that we come across urgent entreaties from the mission authorities in Sydney for him 'to take things more easily.' And the caution seems to have been needed.

The mental capacity of the Tongans is remarkably strong, as is generally admitted. It was soon discovered that they had a decided aptitude for mathematics and history. Their powers of memory were, by their customary training, remarkable. From the

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very first, mental arithmetic occupied a prominent place in the school curriculum, and those that have been present at some of the speech days will bear testimony to the truth of the assertion that, in this department, they have shown themselves wonderfully proficient.

The capacity for languages was found to be decidedly weak. Latin and French were attempted in the early days, but soon discontinued, as it was plainly evident that to expect success in these subjects was to court disaster. English is still taught, but we cannot speak with confidence of results being as satisfactory as could be desired.

How varied was the course of study may be shown by quoting from the 'Second Annual Report.' After chronicling that there had been 'thirteen students entering upon their third year of residence; that five had distinguished themselves and had been placed in the Graduate Class, one acting as assistant tutor,' it goes on to say, 'The subjects for the examination next June are, Euclid (1st and 2nd books); Algebra (to simple equations); Arithmetic (to vulgar fractions and decimals); Mensuration (surfaces and solids); Histories of the ancient monarchies (Egypt, Assyria, Babylon), with outlines of the history of England and France; Religious knowledge (the Life of Christ, history of the Hebrew monarchy; and Evidences of Christianity); also papers on Geography, Grammar, Chemistry and Astronomy.'

The organization of the college grew slowly and naturally out of the necessities of the case. The observant eye would readily single out the sharper and more apt pupils under his charge, and these would be more speedily advanced to higher classes than those less intellectually gifted. So that from

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the single class with which they commenced, the college came to be divided into four separate divisions or forms—the Lower (Koliji Mui), the Middle (Koliji Loto), the Examination Class (Kalasi 'Ahi'ahi), and the Graduate Class (Kau Matematika). The last-named, as the crux of the whole of the scholastic life of the college, needs more than a passing notice. When the raw student entered the door at the end of the Large Hall, that class was the object of his ambition. The glory attached to its attainment fed the flame of his mental enthusiasm during the three years of his school career. It was the corrective to idleness and the inspiration of every department of his work. The title itself is a Tonganized form of our English word *mathematics* and was chosen by the originator as an appropriate one from the fact that, in the examination which was held, and which, if successfully passed, entitled the candidate to the distinction distantly analogous to a university degree, special emphasis was laid on the subjects belonging to that department of knowledge, viz. Euclid, Algebra, and Arithmetic. But besides these, they were required to have manipulated satisfactorily two papers in History, and three in Geography (Europe, Oceanica, and physical geography). Fifty per cent. constituted a pass. The class subjected to this test was what was called the Examination Class. The successful student was thereby privileged to wear a trencher, and to have his name recorded in gilt letters on the historic roll on the panelling to the left of the daïs (that to the right being restricted to the list of captains), for which he was required to pay a stated sum. He had the sole right, with the tutors, of entry by the side door of the College, and from his ranks were chosen the prefects, a most valuable

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element, as we shall see later, in the successful management of the institution.

The baneful system of 'cramming,' unfortunately so prevalent of recent years, was obviated by the fact that there was no higher power to frame a curriculum which seemed to make it a necessity. 'Removes,' generally speaking, were only possible and requisite after a scholastic year, but there was no embargo on promotion before that period where it was warranted by exceptional ability. A unique example of such an exception did occur in the case of a more than brilliant boy, Filimone Tu'itubou, who in a single year took the whole three-years' course. But it is the only instance of its kind in the annals of the College from its inception to the present time.

By the adoption of such a curriculum any student who had reached a 'Matematika' status was one who might truly be said to have received a good all-round education. According to the rules laid down by the principal, when a lad had succeeded in passing the examination referred to, he was allowed the privilege of an additional year's education, which was carried on in the class into which he was entitled to enter. After that extension of time had lapsed, he was called upon to give his farewell address and to leave the institution. Present as the writer has been at many of these, in later years more especially, he can witness to the deep emotion with which these students severed their connexion with the College. More often than not, however, the departing student would already have received an appointment to take charge of a government school or become a steward in the church of some village in the country. In some instances, he would be directly requisitioned

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by the government as a scribe or clerk—all of which appointments were highly coveted, and moreover were a proof that the institution was serving its purpose both in Church and State.

An interesting and characteristic chapter in the history of Mr. Moulton's early work at the College is that which is concerned with the setting up of the printing-press. Somehow or other every vestige of the books printed by the missionaries thirty years before had vanished, as had the printing-plant, and he failed in all his attempts to induce the authorities at Sydney to meet for him what they considered to be an unnecessary outlay. But his enthusiasm eventually surmounted every difficulty. He was fortunate in getting hold of an old printing-press and a quantity of type that was in a state of 'pie.' He had all the varieties carefully sorted and placed in their cases—in which laborious work he was much aided by the temper and disposition of the Tongan. He set himself then to learn the technique of printing—the manipulation of the 'stick,' the discovery of the due proportions of the ingredients for printers' ink, and a score of other things absolutely new to him. At last his ingenuity and his perseverance conquered: the printing-press was in full swing, and schoolbooks poured out in streams. The compositors found it hard to keep pace with the supply from the study table; and while the missionary was hard at work translating the printer would come to and fro bringing proofs for correction, and taking back again new material to be set up.

It was only to be expected that the strongly-marked musical tastes and aptitudes of Mr. Moulton should find expression in his work at the College; and many visitors from the outside world were amazed at the

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results which he obtained in this field, for he who had gone out to the islands when the population was 'perishing for lack of knowledge' had the joy of conducting the *Messiah* with a native chorus before he left. The story of his efforts has a somewhat unique interest, from several points of view. When he decided to make chorus-singing an integral part of the College curriculum he naturally fixed upon the Tonic Sol-fa as the best medium to use, and he wrote out a tune in that notation. A choir practice was held, and the tune was duly operated upon: but it was not a success, to say the very least of it. The half-hearted attempts to learn the tune, and the abashed manner in which they hung their heads convinced him that something was wrong, and he was thankful when it came to an end. Calling to him David Tonga, who was his right-hand man for everything in those early days, he asked what was wrong. 'Oh, Mr. Moulton,' was the reply, 'that will never do: it contains all the swear-words in our language!' That was final; and a new method had to be invented to meet the case. The details of the system would take too much space if they were set forth here in full; suffice it to say that it centred in the sequence of Tongan numerals from three to nine inclusive, with the incorporation of the bar-lines, colons, semi-colons, hyphens, &c., which are familiar enough to all Sol-fa singers. The whole plan is an interesting illustration of Mr. Moulton's extraordinary ability in adapting the methods and principles of western education to the requirements of an island population; and it met with a great degree of success. Works by the great masters were scored in this new notation by the indefatigable head master, as well as tunes, canticles, anthems, &c., for current

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use. That this acquisition was retained after Mr. Moulton's departure from Tonga is shown by the fact that a few years ago the officers of a cruiser happened to come ashore and visit the College while one of these practices was in progress. After hearing several well-known hymns sung they expressed a wish to hear the method applied to some tune quite new to the students; and the request was readily granted, the choice being left to them. Their choice fell on Dr. Dykes's St. Silvester ('Days and moments quickly flying'), a tune which had never before been heard in the islands. It was rapidly translated into Tongan Sol-fa and written on the blackboard. The key-note was sounded, and to the utter astonishment of the visitors the choir sang the various parts with almost perfect precision at the first attempt. The explanation of these remarkable results is to be found in the fact that the system is taught to all students on their entrance into the College, and forms one of their class subjects until they are well on in their course. But even this would probably have failed to achieve its purpose had it not been for the fact that the Tongan has an aptitude for music, above the ordinary degree.

These musical developments made yet further demands upon the equipment of the printing-rooms. The new Sol-fa necessitated a special fount of type, cast in London, and it very soon became evident that the old 'Albion' machine was not adequate to deal with the new and varied output, and an up-to-date 'Wharfedale' was installed, capable of working off a thousand sheets per hour—a phenomenon in the Pacific Islands of that day! A College hymn-book, tune-book, and anthem-book soon came into being, a witness to the energy of the head master, as to the receptivity of his flock—and the indispensability of

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the printing-press! Climatic conditions always militated against the full effectiveness of this branch of the work; and in course of time fuller advantage was taken of the greater facilities and better workmanship of the English and Australian publishers. But during the critical, formative period of the College's growth its own printing-press played a most important part, and did a work of inestimable value. The same holds good of the binding of the books for College use.

A telescope was also the treasured possession of the College, which probably had the distinction of installing the first observatory in the network of islands in the Pacific. Of course it was the day of small things, and the instrument which seemed to them so large was actually somewhat insignificant; but it meant much that in the early seventies, in one of the hundreds of islands in that part of the Pacific, there should be found at all a telescope and an enthusiastic teacher and an equally enthusiastic group of native students. Eventually after contracting various ailments and being finally disestablished by a hurricane, it was sold in Sydney with a view to the purchase of a better instrument. The present writer, some years afterwards, found it standing outside the Central Station at Sydney, its owner loudly insisting upon its powers to reveal the surface of the moon, and its extinct volcanoes. But the blasé citizens of Sydney never manifested a hundredth part of the interest shown by the islanders as to the wonders of the heavens.

CHAPTER IV

THE FOUNDING OF A COLLEGE

TUBOU COLLEGE SPEECH-DAY

EVERY scholastic institution has its gala days, and Tubou College was no exception. The annual Speech-day, moreover, had so many features of interest differentiating it from similar occasions in England that it will be worth while to give it special prominence, in that it sheds much light upon the conditions under which educational work was carried on, and the mentality of the people. It was the climax of the scholastic work of the year, and was marked by the distribution of rewards and honours of various kinds; but it was also an event of national importance. The king presided, and the parliament suspended its session in order that the members might be present. How much more so would the parents and relatives of the students roll up in crowds! Let us try to represent the scene.

Long before dawn the first move is made: and a characteristic move it is! The whole College compound is alive with bustling and hilarious students. The ovens are piled with firewood and lit. Stones are heaped on top. Coccoanut and banana leaves strew the ground and are in much evidence. Quickly the required heat is reached. The smouldering remains are then raked out, and the hot stones, which, being heavier, have deposited themselves below, are now skilfully arranged in equal distribution around the crater-like hole, which perhaps may measure from

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four to five feet in its largest diameter. On the heated stones are placed pieces of yams of considerable size, sweet potatoes, fish, and fowl adroitly wrapped up in banana leaves and tied at the top; whole pigs, Tongan puddings, also encased in the banana fold, &c., &c., all are placed indiscriminately within. Sticks are then placed crosswise over the whole. Broad leaves then bestraddle these, over the whole of which—to keep in the heat—earth or sand is shovelled. The ‘oven’ is then finished—and left(!) And no festival is complete without such preliminaries.

The function proper commences at nine-thirty or ten. The king and chiefs sit in state on the College daïs, supported on either hand by those whose privileged duty it is to accompany him on all such occasions. The Head Master sits near: before him the crowded hall with the College students and staff at the further end.

A hymn sung, and a prayer offered by one of the senior ministers, open the proceedings. The sight is truly an inspiring one. The spectator from the body of the hall sees on the crowded daïs all the highest personages of the nation. Behind the daïs are the College windows, in the centre of which stands a coloured portrait of the king himself; and, below it, the mysterious-looking College crest—the hermit-crab with its tail in the acquired shell; while round it, in almost a complete circle, in the form of a scroll, runs a motto, a free translation of which is, ‘The Tongan’s castle is the mind.’ How the lot fell upon this disgraced semi-parasite with its stolen property of a home, might truly appear to be a conundrum, but the originator of it was one who came to be known as being of a decidedly original turn

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of mind! He saw in this accommodating genius a close analogy to the facility of the trained mind, even of a Tongan, to accommodate itself to new conditions, and to lay hold of and to utilize such conditions with permanent advantage and benefit to himself and his country.

The morning session of the Speech-day is ever of a formal nature. The College regalia is worn. The special class, the 'Matematikas,' is distinguished from the others by the wearing of the European dress, trousers and coat and boots—an enormity in very truth, as far as the Tongan, or any other islander, is concerned—crowned by the College trencher as a head-gear, when outside the precincts. The rest are more comfortably dressed, in the soft shirt, the white loin-cloth, and the blue *kummerband*—all aiding to set off the gracefulness of his figure and tread.

The first item in the morning's business is the reading out of the class order. The method in vogue in the general class-work is that of taking of places, a method, it may be, now out of date, but found, for all that, exceedingly effective in stimulating healthy rivalry among the members of the class. This 'Stone Age' method has ever worked admirably in Tubou College and suits the Tongan character.

The lowest class is first called. In a semi-circle in front of the daïs, and in the open space before it, they stand, taking their school order at the commencement of the academical year now just closed. Their newly-acquired positions in the respective lessons are then read out *seriatim*, which they take when announced. Then the climax of interest is reached when the new order, as resultant from their diligent attention to their task throughout the year, is read.

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The Head Master may sometimes ask for a rough guess as to who had reached the honoured place of *Dux* of the class. A random shot would often be ventured, but, in any case, hearty commendation would follow the announcement of the honoured name. Thus would the names of the whole class be called, one by one, each coming forward and taking his appointed position. This would constitute the new school order for the ensuing year, and rank is not without its stimulating usefulness, even though it be in the lowest class. This mode of procedure characterized the 'reading of the marks' of every class, with the exception of the Examination Class, whose turn, for obvious reasons, was always postponed until last.

Such a procedure may be thought to verge somewhat on the tedious, but the weariness of such a long-drawn-out process was never felt as an affliction by any, except perhaps members of the European community who chanced to be present, and to whom much was not intelligible and for whom therefore there was no special interest in the proceedings.

The would-be monotony, however, was often broken by exhibitions of mental calibre, such as the mental arithmetic test (referred to later by Dr. Fison¹), by a problem in algebra, by a proposition in Euclid propounded by the students of the highest form, by a chemical experiment occasionally (so is it on record), or by a trigonometrical measurement.

At last, however, the crucial moment came and the Examination Class was called up. Taking their school order as the other classes had done before them, they awaited, with an anxiety of heart that was plainly revealed in their countenances, the unknown

¹ P. 82.

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verdict. The process of reading out the positions acquired in the various subjects throughout the year was kindly dispensed with, the order of the aggregated marks being at once announced and taken. The stillness of expectation was intense as the Head Master proceeded to reveal the results of the examination. The subjects taken have already been mentioned, so that a further repetition is no longer necessary. Often the aggregated maxima would reach a total of 1,200 marks—and sometimes as high as 2,000—and 50 per cent. was required for a pass. The excitement, when the names of the successful candidates were revealed can hardly be described, and the delirium of joy evinced by the relatives of the student who came out at the top was most demonstrative. A corresponding dejection was manifested by those who failed, and they usually sidled away into solitude to nurse their grief.

The writer remembers the sudden metamorphosis of a student under this ordeal. His name was becoming at every call lower down the list of successful candidates, so that, becoming disheartened, he had actually reached the exit door. When, however, he heard the voice from the distant daïs proclaim the good tidings that, after all, he had succeeded, he gave a great bound into the air, turning right about in the act, and, uttering a kind of a war-whoop, he ran forward to join his fortunate fellows. The acme of joy plays havoc sometimes with good manners, but every one fully and freely forgave him all such perpetrations under the peculiar circumstances.

The Head Master then presented the successful students, one by one, to the chairman, who after congratulating them on their success, would place the coveted trencher—the outward and visible mark

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of distinction—on the candidate's head, and the writer has seen perhaps more than one recipient bestow an affectionate kiss upon it.

When they had retired to their seats the chairman would deliver an address to the assembly, in which he emphatically voiced his appreciation of all that he had seen and heard, stimulating the unsuccessful candidates with words of encouragement. Other speakers would follow, and the proceedings would terminate with a hymn and the Benediction.

To those who have followed the foregoing account carefully, it will come as no surprise to learn that, by this time, the hands of the clock would be pointing to half-past two. But time, on occasions like these, is no object of immediate concern in these happy climes, with no time-tabled trams and trains to catch or any other important appointments to be considered.

Soon the once-crowded hall is empty. The king and specially-privileged chiefs would then be conducted to the Head Master's residence in these early years—to the Mission House in later days—where they would be his guests. We can leave them there enjoying the meal served up in true European style.

Outside, however, there is a far different state of affairs. The ovens have been quickly uncovered, and baskets upon baskets of cooked food would be brought into the College cricket-ground. The food, when all presented, is then divided out by the master of ceremonies. This is ever a most difficult task considering the large concourse of people who had gathered together from the four quarters of the Tongan globe and who have all to be remembered. But somehow, habit and usage come conveniently into happy requisition and the feat is skilfully and, generally speaking, satisfactorily performed.

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The afternoon—or what remains of it after the meal—is spent in a free-and-easy manner, generally in a cricket match. The College students themselves, or some of them, have important rôles to play after dark in the entertainment for the visitors, and hence the spare hours are utilized in putting the finishing touches to their preparation. To this entertainment a summons characteristically Tongan is given in due time. It is sounded on two drums, the one a fifth below the other, and each following a sequence of its own, with a most curious effect. But it serves its purpose most effectually in that it brings the guests to the hall from the utmost parts of the island.

The capacious hall, 120 feet long by 30 feet broad, is packed uncomfortably. There is an air of abandonment about every one. Plainly the formality of the morning has been laid aside, and truly the evening in every department is 'free-and-easy.' There is a properly arranged programme, not generally in printed form, though, as an attraction to the members of the European community, the writer remembers having sent out (in later years than this period touches) a batch of printed circulars coupling with the invitation from the 'tutors of Tubou College' (who were said 'to present their compliments' and to 'request the pleasure of ——'s company' at the Miscellaneous Entertainment to be given by the students, on such-and-such a day), with a short heading of the various items pertaining thereto. To be noticed among them were 'Recitations from Milton's *Paradise Lost*,' songs and part-songs, &c., &c. Between 1893 and 1903 gymnastics formed a part of the school curriculum, and hence dumb-bells, clubs, and horizontal bar displays were introduced and were

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greatly appreciated. To these at a later period were added musical selections by the College brass band, which enlivened the proceedings and gave a few minutes' spell to prepare for the next important item on the lengthy programme. The College singing was always proverbial in the islands. Dr. Fison in his report¹ has made appreciative reference to it. It was in evidence in the entertainment to which we are now referring. 'Hail, smiling morn' (Spofforth) was a general favourite as an opening number of the proceedings. The spectacle before the visitors' gaze must be seen to be realized. The College regalia, as we have said, has been thrown aside. Flowers in the hair adorn the girls. Native cloth and beautifully-woven mats of finest texture are in great evidence. The Gala dress is strikingly native and, unhampered by European enormities, the wearers move gracefully about. Encircling the waist are seen the deftly-plaited girdles of long fringes of pretty grass or the *heilala* flower, ending in the tassle of *hibiscus* fibre. A sash of similar make-up is thrown carelessly across the shoulders. The hair is oiled and powdered with the dust of the sweet and aromatic sandal-wood. The girls, as an addition, place the long Tongan comb on the back of their head, thrusting it safely and securely in the mass of tangled hair that is their pride.

The whole assembly is orderly, attentive and appreciative to a degree. Dramatic excerpts from *Paradise Lost*, rendered into the native tongue by the Head Master, are always popular. Selections of considerable length were 'played,' revealing considerable dramatic insight as well as an extraordinarily retentive memory, and a gift for realism on the part of those responsible for stage-management. Moreover,

¹ P. 79.

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the elocutionary powers of the students in these Milton selections were highly commendable. Indeed it is a well-known fact that these dark-skinned races, as a rule, have this power in no mean degree. A proof of this may be seen at what is known as a Bolotu—a 'Service of Song'—a meeting held on a Sunday night to which choirs from various parts of the country would assemble. Here, in their turn, they would discourse music that was practically the product of a native mind as to both words and music. The favourite number took the form of a recitation, rendered by the bard of the district who alone stood up in the process. At the close of the stanzas—sometimes of a considerable length—he would turn round to his seated trained choir, who would at once burst in with the refrain bearing on the subject treated. Some of these choruses were highly melodious, and the precision with which the various parts were taken up affords proof that the Tongans, generally, have a just claim to be regarded as a musical race. Interspersed also with these dramatic recitals would be solos and choruses, to which would be added an instrumental item on the harmonium, which was quite a novelty in those early days (1866-1877). Later years saw distinct progress in this department, pianoforte solos and duets being much in evidence.

The hours of the night would, in this way, rapidly pass, and at ten p.m. the programme would be brought to a close. That the entertainment was a popular one is borne out by the fact that, on a similar occasion, some years later, a chief of Royal blood sat through proceedings similar to those just narrated—and yet with this difference, that the free-and-easy evening function lasted from 6.30 p.m. to 12.30 a.m.; yet, when an adjournment was made

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by him to the head tutor's house to drink the Tongan beverage, he was heard to say, 'Why did Mr. Moulton close *so soon?*' And yet what other people than islanders would willingly put up with an entertainment lasting over six hours? It was a foolish extravagance, perhaps, but there had been a long and varied programme preparing for some time and various batches of students had been keenly applying themselves to their allotted parts, and the ruling hand—the writer of this biography—did not think it fair to disappoint them after such preparation. Such festivals were abundantly worth the effort put into them by tutors and students, for a successful College Festival was the theme of conversation for many lips in many islands and homes for weeks, and, in this way, was an effective advertisement of the institution.

CHAPTER V

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THE RÉGIME

THE glamour of the College-cap and its prestige, the unconscious magical influence of the educational environment on the students as a transformer, not only mentally but physically, was the most powerful incentive to those who still had been inclined to stand aloof from its advantages. The normal College régime therefore demands more than a passing reference, and embraces much more than the facts of the class time-table; for the class-room, however important, is not the whole college. Many a student from this institution who has evinced only a mediocre mental calibre, has passed into the ranks of Church workers and has been a veritable acquisition to it. One of the most successful ministers of the Wesleyan Church was one who never succeeded in gaining the coveted honour of *Matematika*. Yet he was deservedly popular for his sterling worth as a pastor, having patiently borne the brunt of 'being persecuted for conscience's sake,' and passed on to his reward amid universal regret. At the same time the above-mentioned Church is blessed above measure by its band of noble ministers, who, with but few exceptions, have first 'taken their degree' at the College before being called into the ranks of the ministry.

Character, with brain capacity, is the coveted inheritance of an effective Church. Tubou College

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has contributed handsomely to this inheritance. Its objective, from the very first, was to be a source of supply to the State and the Church. Positions as clerks in the government offices and as teachers in the public schools were filled by its students: and so were positions in the ministry—slowly, at first, as could only be expected, until the machinery was in proper working order. This involves no disparagement of the old order of ministers, which contained some of the finest pastors one could wish to have, whose spiritual fervour and fidelity to duty were sublime. They lacked, however, the intellectual training that the new generation needed. Tubou College supplied this deficiency, but its fullest realization could not be seen until later years. Its perfect consummation required the slow process of growth, mental and spiritual.

Some of the stages may be set out here in brief. First and foremost without hesitation must be placed the creation of the religious atmosphere into which every student was thrust when his name was placed on the College roll. Every collegian was enrolled in some society-class, whether he was religiously disposed or not, and this class would meet every Sunday afternoon after service. The Lord's Day was permeated with worship. The day began with a prayer-meeting at five o'clock in the College Hall, concurrent with that held in Zion Church by the local minister and willing attendants. At nine a.m. the students would be seen marching up to the historic church in charge of the tutors and assistants. Here they were the backbone of the singing, the tunes for which they started without the help of any instrument. The service ended, back again they would march to their homes in the College grounds, would partake of

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their first meal, and rest until the big bell sounded the call for their assemblage in the hall for scripture lessons, for which they had prepared. Sometimes a new hymn would form a part, or the whole, of their obligation on this occasion. More often it was a lesson on the 'Life of Christ' or some portion of the Old Testament prepared by the Head Master and written out in the form of question and answer. At three o'clock lessons ceased, and once more they marched up Zion Hill. Immediately at the close of the afternoon's service the whole College would assemble in the large hall for the society-class, which, once a quarter, was faithfully met for the renewal of tickets. Dismissed from this, they returned to their dwellings in the College compound, where they partook of their second, and last, meal of the day. Nightfall brought its further obligations, and, if they were not again recalled to Zion for a spiritual meeting there, the College Hall would be once again their rendezvous, where the Head Master would hold his Bible-reading. This, more often than not, would be the rule. And to it would come, with great eagerness and relish, others who did not belong to the institution. The capacious building would be packed to its outer door. For three-quarters of an hour a Bible exposition would be given. Seated on the dais, Mr. Moulton would wait until one of the tutors had read out the portion of scripture that bore directly on his theme. Then he would proceed to elucidate and unravel—and unquestionably his forte was exegesis. There seemed to be an inspiration in the very seat itself (so he often would say), and, repeatedly, time would seem to have lost its sway upon him, as he poured forth the message to his rapt listeners. Then, rising, he would proceed to the

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harmonium and play a hymn-tune. The collegians would join in taking their various parts, and the building would soon resound with inspiring music. A new hymn and tune would sometimes be introduced, to the keen delight of the expectant audience. An anthem, such as that referred to before, would next be rendered or possibly a solo. The closing rites of this instructive and interesting worship-hour consisted in an inspiring prayer by one of the ministers present. The threads of the discourse and its pregnant lessons would be interwoven with a strong appeal for a practical recognition on the part of the hearers. The Benediction closed what was always felt to have been a 'good time.'

But the religious atmosphere did not end with the Sabbath. On the Monday night at seven o'clock, the College prayer-meeting was held. This would last for upwards of an hour, and a similar meeting would also be conducted on the Friday evening.

Such was the programme week by week. Occasionally a devotional service of a similar kind would be arranged on a Sunday night, when College tutors and local preachers would give addresses. Sometimes the choice would fall on some of the students, who had never yet occupied such a position. Full of interest and usefulness such arrangements would be, interspersed, as they ever were, with hearty singing.

It is not hard to conceive then, that with such continual sowing the gospel seed would fall on good ground and a harvest of conversion would follow: and where such a joyous result ensued the young life, thus newly created, would be carefully nurtured through the agency of the Sunday class-meeting. We do not suggest for one moment that every student was thus made a 'new creature' in Christ

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Jesus, but there is no doubt that the majority of them were influenced thereby to higher things.

Then there was the important factor of the College discipline. No institution can truly bear the name where this important characteristic does not play a controlling part. The unhandled colt, that all its life up to the present has known no ruler but its own sweet will, chafes at the hand that would strive to subdue it to the inclination and pleasure of another: and the analogy is suggestive when we turn to the disposition of those who entered Tubou College. Of all the many disadvantages from which the Tongan youth suffers there is none more deplorable than the absence of home training. The discipline of the home is an unknown quantity; and correction, when, by chance, it *is* brought into execution, is of a nature that is to be condemned, seeing that it is, most commonly, the angry passion of exasperation let loose. The punishment consequently, though deserved, is disproportionately severe, and therefore it tends to arouse the spirit of defiance.

The very form of address used by a child to its parent is regrettable; for the Christian name only is used on every occasion, instead of the endearing term of 'father' and 'mother,' which is unknown in this regard. Moreover the child from infancy gets what it wants; and out of this very indulgence is created the germ of defiance which shows itself as soon as, later on, it is in any way thwarted.

The difficulty with the boy grown up to young manhood—he is a taxpayer at seventeen—in the matter of discipline, needs no great exercise of the imagination. The burden becomes accentuated when we come to think of the more wilful temperament of the son of a high chief thrown into an environment

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where the word of one of lower rank than his own, or even of a commoner armed with an authority to dictate, by virtue of an academical distinction gained, was law and must be obeyed. The position was difficult to a degree, and called for the utmost tact.

Reference has already been made to the stand taken by Mr. Moulton, when, in the early days of the College, it was whispered that the king's own grandson was soon to enter as a student. The chief and commoner must stand on an equal footing; both must bow inevitably to the rules and regulations of the institution. This was pressed home at the very outset when, as a new student, he was asked to give the formal guarantee to strict obedience to the same. Standing before the daïs in front of the assembled school, he was required to give his solemn promise by the raising of the right hand. From a Tongan standpoint this was as binding on him as the usual taking of an oath in the law-court. Then, and not till then, his name was entered in the enrolment book of the College. A book bearing his name and academical number was then presented to him. Obedience to the tutors and monitors was as binding as to the principal himself.

The free and easy life of the outside world must now be given up by the newly-enrolled student. The sound of the drum and of the bell on a Sunday have their concrete meaning. It may call to family worship in the early morning or at nine at night; or to roll-call when the names of all the students were called by the monitor on duty, as he passed along the raised central path on either side of which the students resided. To such a call an *adsum* was required to save the entry of the defaulter's name in the imposition-book. It was the summons also

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to morning and afternoon school, to the prayer-meeting of the Monday and Friday night, or to the choir practice twice in the week. He might be requisitioned for College work on the working day (Tuesday) or be at the beck and call of the tutor on the Thursday. He might be asked to fulfil his week as 'kitchen boy'; not infrequently he might be commandeered to take an urgent message, by word of mouth or by letter, to any of the ministers stationed in the outlying parts of the island, &c., &c. Then, in planting season, when it was imperative that the food for the ensuing year should be attended to, the order would be given that all must be prepared to answer to their names at a given hour at a distant plantation. Saturday was an 'off day,' and yet, as the Tongan name for it (Tokonaki) implies, 'preparation' must be made for the morrow, the Sabbath. This involved the sweeping of the whole premises, the College square, the Mission House grounds as well as the immediate vicinity of their own habitations. This was, by the way, a government regulation to be observed throughout the whole island. Then there was food to be obtained for the morrow. Hence the tramp to the plantation and back for the supply. So that, though an 'off day' it had its systematic and compulsory duties.

The first few weeks were the testing time to the new student; and the demands were by no means light to a nature that was unused to the such exactions. Sometimes it was only the keen desire for the acquisition of knowledge and the halo of prestige with which every student of Tubou College was surrounded that weighed down the scale in favour of forbearance. On the other hand, to those who had not that desire, the exactions proved too distasteful,

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and they left the institution of their own accord. But they did not truly realize how well off they were until they found themselves face to face with the scarcity of provisions outside; and then their envious eyes at once turned to the plenty that prevailed in the place which they had so foolishly left.

But alternating with the manual exertions referred to were the joyous hours of school, for such they were indeed. Student vies with student for priority of place in each class, and the impression left on the interested and impartial observer is that there is unmitigated joy in this mental exercise.

No class time-table is in evidence. No stated hour seems to be allotted to any special lesson. It is a free-and-easy régime. But every moment is utilized. A few minutes before the close of the morning session even may be utilized by mental arithmetic and the results entered in the class register. An ancient pedagogue would rant and rave at such a course: but the results have been found to justify the method.

In the creation of this educational machine the versatile Head Master—so enthusiastic, so original, so serious in his purpose—had by far the largest share, as indeed he had in the working of it. But while Mr. Moulton was the acknowledged head, he delegated to a committee of management, consisting of tutors and monitors, the practical side of the régime. This was termed 'The Monitors' Meeting,' which met after the prayer-meeting every Monday night and from which he purposely absented himself.

In a systematic and orderly way did the committee of management proceed with its business. A few simple but comprehensive questions, covering the wide sphere of College arrangements, were drawn

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up during the first years of its existence: and the same code is in vogue to-day, after nearly half a century. The fact that it has so effectively met the needs of the school for so long stamps the code as eminently suited to the temperament of the people it was framed to benefit. It was ever a cause for thankfulness to the originator that so hard a task, launched forth as an experiment at the first, should have proved itself so signally effective throughout a long series of years. The transactions of the monitors' meeting were entered in detail in a minute-book, which was handed over to the Head Master every Tuesday morning for his inspection. Therein was recorded, amongst other things, the verdict of the meeting on the efficiency of the work done by the monitors of the week. It was a matter of almost vital moment to the division to which they belonged as to whether they had acquitted themselves creditably or not. The honour of their division was at stake, and this was ever a healthy tonic.

A review of the work done and the standard attained during the first twelve years of Tubou College may appropriately close these chapters on the founding of the College. It will moreover be felt to be a clear advantage that that review should be the work of an outsider who not only had no connexion whatever with the institution and its workers, but who on his own admission came with a decided prejudice of unbelief with reference to the alleged virtues of the College. His endorsement therefore will count for much. The articles in question appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in June and July 1875, and were written by Dr. Lorimer Fison, a Cambridge graduate, as well as an Australian doctor of divinity, and at that time editor of the

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Melbourne *Spectator*. It is given here in full as it will serve to focus on one point what has been already set forth: and this may be pleaded in justification of including so lengthy a quotation.

His first introduction to the students of Tubou College was on a bright Sunday morning in November. He had watched a large native congregation disperse after the service, when his eye 'was caught by a long line of fine bright-looking young men, who issued from the church and came marching down the hill, two and two, keeping step with admirable time and precision.' 'By their side at intervals along the line walked the native assistant tutors, men who had been trained in the College and who had earned their present position by good conduct and hard honest work.' The procession was a sight to see, and he watched it 'with delighted eyes.'

'During the remainder of my stay at Nukualofa,' he says, 'I took every opportunity of gaining information concerning the College; and the courteous tutor, the Rev. J. E. Moulton, placed all his spare time at my disposal, and gave me every facility for ascertaining the system on which he worked and for testing the requirements of the pupils. So deep was the interest excited by what I saw and heard, that I left the group without having been able to come to anything like a full satisfaction of my curiosity; for everything which came under my notice made me eager for further information and the more I learned the more I wanted to know.

'The fame of Tubou College had reached me several years before my visit to the islands. And I have to confess that I took with me a strong prejudice against it; for an impression had been

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made on my mind that Mr. Moulton's system availed exclusively for a high-class education and that the lower branches of study were neglected, if not despised by him; whence it seemed to me that his system could not be appropriate to a people such as the Tongans, who are but just emerging out of barbarism. In a short time, however, when I had the working of the system before my eyes, and I was able to make personal inspection of it, its results sufficed to show that my prejudice was utterly without foundation.

'He does not teach the higher subjects to all his pupils. When the young men come to him, they are placed in the lowest class, whence they have to work their way upwards. Those of them who manifest a capacity for the higher studies soon come to the front; and thus each year forms itself into two divisions, each of which he takes through an appropriate course of instruction, by no means neglecting the lower in favour of the higher. He has adopted the study of Euclid as, at once, a useful mental discipline and a test of intellectual capacity, not, however, insisting upon it as a test of universal application. All general rules have their exceptions, but he has found by actual experience what seems reasonable at first sight, that a native who can take in and follow out a process of pure reasoning such as a demonstration of Euclid's is generally capable of understanding and appreciating the facts of natural science. Those of his men who show this aptitude are drafted into the higher classes, while the others take their places in the lower forms, receiving a plainer education. Many of the latter have proved themselves to be useful men and are doing

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good work as teachers in the common schools, and as clerks to government offices.

‘The students are supplied from three sources. Some are sent to Mr. Moulton from the various islands of the group by the missionaries, under whose hands they are supposed to have gone through a preliminary course of training; others are sons of chiefs, who are sent by the Government, which pays a small sum annually towards the expenses of their education. A third class consists of exhibitioners from the public schools, lads who have distinguished themselves at the yearly examinations and thereby have gained the privilege of no small value, the course being from three to five years. These, as far as educational attainment is concerned, are the most promising of Mr. Moulton’s pupils; for, from the fact of their having distanced all their competitors in the schools, we may conclude that they are the brightest among the lads of their year; moreover they come to him at an earlier age than the rest of their students, while their minds are in a plastic state, so that he can mould them as he will. It is to be hoped that their numbers will be increased, for not only do they make the best scholars at the College, but the gift of the exhibitions must be a powerful stimulus to the lads in the public schools.

‘The men sent by the missionaries are bound to enter the mission work, but the exhibitioners and those sent by the Government are free to choose their own course, when they leave the College.

‘In addition to answering very fully and clearly all the inquiries I could find time to make, Mr. Moulton gave his students into the hand of another

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visitor and myself for two or three hours one afternoon, allowing us to ask them questions bearing upon the studies they had been pursuing.

'This examination was pleasingly varied by musical performances. Several pieces were sung at intervals by his pupils, his senior native assistant tutor, David Tonga, playing the accompaniment on the fine harmonium. These were well worth hearing; but my delight reached its highest pitch when he himself sat down to the instrument, and his lads, gathering around him, gave us Mozart's "Gloria in excelsis" and the Dettingen "Te Deum" with wonderful accuracy as to both time and tune. His music-books are printed by himself on a system of his own, figures being used instead of the ordinary notation. He was forced into this by the necessity under which he lay of doing his own printing within the College. Much of it, indeed, in the earlier days of his tutorship had to be done by his own hands.

'The first class of his pupils and the second demonstrated respectively the eighth proposition of the Third Book of Euclid and the forty-seventh of the First. At his suggestion, I dictated the letters for the various points in the diagram, selecting them at random from all parts of the alphabet; and I was, indeed, hard-hearted enough to fix on an alteration in the position of the diagram in the second proposition, placing the right-angle at the left-hand corner of the triangle instead of at the apex. Hence, it is evident that, if the students had merely learnt the demonstration by heart, they must have been completely non-plussed. The diagrams were drawn by David Tonga at their dictation, Mr. Moulton putting them on, not in

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regular rotation but calling upon first one and then another without regard to the order in which they stood before the blackboard. In each case the construction was completed without a flaw and the demonstration worked out in a manner that would have warmed the heart of Euclid himself, could he have been present in the flesh, and which would have given special delight to his well-known editor, Mr. R. Potts of Trinity College, Cambridge, whose book has found its way to these islands of the sea. At each step in the reasoning which depended upon a foregoing proposition I asked for either the number or the enunciation of that proposition, and in every case either one or the other was correctly given by some one of the students. In short, they did their work admirably—very much better than the vast majority of boys in my time could have done it, after passing through six or seven years' course of instruction in any one of our English public schools.

'Geometry was followed by theology, in which the lads acquitted themselves very creditably, following out an orderly and connected process of reasoning, fortified by texts of scripture aptly and correctly quoted. In physical geography they gave us an interesting account of the great ocean currents, tracing them on a large map drawn for the purpose; and this they did in a manner that showed that as far as they had gone, they not only understood the subject but were deeply interested in it. When it took them among the icebergs, I felt not a little curious to hear what they would call "frozen water," a thing for which there could not be a word in their language, and, to my great delight, a bright-looking young fellow

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who was dealing with that part of the subject, spoke of ice as "vai-mohe" or "sleeping water," "and," said he, "when the bergs are drifted by winds and currents to the warmer latitudes, the sun shines upon the sleeping waters and they awake."

'After we had heard all the students had to say about the ocean currents, my fellow visitor, at Mr. Moulton's suggestion, asked several questions in geography, which the young men answered with great readiness. They pointed out the great mountain chains and rivers, tracing their course upon the map. The latitude and longitude of various places being given, they found them out on the globe and gave their names without making a mistake in any one instance, and, at the visitors' request, they marked out on the Mercator's map the route of a vessel sailing from London to Sydney and back again, giving reasons why such and such a course should be steered, and why another should be avoided. A few questions in algebra were then given and they solved a simple equation in capital style. The tutor then drew a four-sided figure, and, having described it as a plan of a plot of ground on the scale of one inch to chain, asked them to find its area. Whereupon one of the young fellows stepped forward and divided it into triangles by means of a diagonal, upon which he drew perpendiculars from the opposite angle; he then produced a carpenter's rule, and having measured the perpendiculars and the diagonal, wrote down his measurements on the diagram and hurried back to his place. Forthwith the students' pencils began to rattle over their slates and, in an incredibly short time, they calculated the area required. Next followed questions

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in mental arithmetic, which were propounded by the tutor and answered by the pupils with a rapidity so marvellous as to force upon me a feeling of incredulity. The thing appeared to be so manifestly impossible that nothing but the still greater impossibility that Mr. Moulton should be guilty of unfair dealing could have kept me from coming to the conclusion that they were palming off a sham upon us. In order to satisfy myself beyond the possibility of a doubt—or rather to put myself in a position to satisfy the doubts of others—I asked permission to give a few questions myself, and this was readily granted. Accordingly I gave several of which the following will serve as a fair specimen; an article cost $1/1\frac{1}{2}d$; what is the value of 8 doz.? A gallon of oil cost $2/6d$; how much must I give for 11 tuns? This formidable-looking sum Mr. Moulton read off thus nearly as fast as he could speak:—4, square it, add 7, subtract 2, divide by 3, multiply by 8, subtract 2, divide by 6, multiply by 11, subtract 3, divide by 12, multiply by 3, add 1, extract the square root. What is it? Within five seconds, measured by a watch after he had asked “what is it?” the whole class came forward with the answer written on their slates. They worked out the calculations mentally as he announced the sum and wrote down the result only. I said that the whole class rushed forward, but there was one exception—a poor young fellow who had lost the thread of the calculation, and who stood hugging his slate to his breast with the pitiable expression of hopeless perplexity and unutterable misery on his face. I could not help speaking a few words of encouragement to him which were duly interpreted into the

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Tongan language. He looked at me with grateful eyes, and the feeble ghost of a smile flitted across his troubled visage. I would have gladly prolonged the examination for another hour or two, but no time could be spared, and I left the lecture-hall with my mind full of the liveliest interest in Tubou College and the warmest admiration of its excellent tutor.'

'The College is quite a little town in itself, the students' houses being built in two parallel straight lines divided by a clean well-kept roadway, at the head of which stands the Lecture Hall, a handsome building of Tongan architecture well fitted up with the needful apparatus. This town is divided into three sections, each bearing a distinguishing title, and presided over by a native assistant tutor, with certain officers under him, who are chosen from the most trustworthy of the students. Each section in turn takes charge of the town, and is responsible for the strict carrying out of all rules, any infraction of which is brought before a court composed of the assistant tutors and officers who inflict such punishment as, in their judgement, the case requires. This court sits weekly, and its proceedings are characterized by great fairness. The name of any offender, together with the offence of which he is accused, is posted up within the College walls, so that he may know the charges against him and be prepared with his defence. If he does not present himself before the court,¹ his absence is taken as a plea of guilty, but if he

¹ Later a preliminary trial of the cases was held at 5 p.m., presided over by a tutor, and results presented to monitorial court after prayer-meeting. Such procedure was found to be a great saving of time and as effective.

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thinks that he has a valid defence, or that he can urge extenuating circumstances, a regular trial takes place. Witnesses are called whom he may cross-examine, and he is allowed to plead his own cause; having, moreover, if he be dissatisfied with the sentence pronounced upon him, the right of appeal to Mr. Moulton, to whom all the gravest cases are referred. Mr. Moulton informed me that appeals are of very rare occurrence and that only once has he seen cause to reverse a decision thus brought before him.

‘After this judicial business has been disposed of, the court resolves itself into a committee of management. Certain questions are asked as to the carrying out of the College arrangements during the previous week, and as to what order has to be made for that which is coming. The answers are recorded in a book kept for that purpose and the entry signed by the native tutor who presides. This book is a sort of journal, wherein daily entries are made on a certain orderly system of all events connected with the College; and at the weekly meeting above-mentioned the entries are reviewed, and those of them which have to be permanently recorded are transferred to the book appropriated to that purpose. Thus a daily meteorological record is carefully kept, Mr. Moulton having procured instruments and taught his students how to use them. Within a fence near the lecture-hall stands the anemometer, with its little discs perpetually whirling. At its feet are various kinds of thermometers, a rain-gauge, and a evaporation dish, and from all these daily readings are taken by the students (monitors on duty only) at stated hours, recorded in the journal, and finally posted

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thence, after examination by the native tutor on duty, to a book specially devoted to meteorological records.'

'The history of the College is both interesting and instructive in no ordinary degree. It is a record of great difficulties patiently encountered and valiantly overcome by a man who is not only an enthusiastic lover of educational work but capable also of that steadfast perseverance through the day of small things which is not often found combined with ardent enthusiasm.

'Mr. Moulton has had to do something harder than ordinary teaching. He has had to clear virgin forest-land for cultivation, but also to invent and manufacture nearly all his tools; and the labour which this represents is something enormous. His work has been not only to teach new ideas to pupils drawn from a nation just rising out of savageism, but also to set forth those ideas in a language previously ignorant of them, and therefore without words to express them. And even to this imperfect vehicle of thought he was a stranger at the beginning of his work.'

To the narrative of the ways and means by which the difficult process referred to was attained Dr. Fison confesses himself a delighted listener. It consisted in the stammering out of explanations in reference to his object-lesson before a blackboard with chalk in hand and of watching the face of his most intelligent pupil, David Tonga. When it lit up, the teacher perceived that he had grasped the point in question, and the pupil then became the translator to the class, the words used by him being carefully noted. Mistakes made from time to time

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were also subjected to the correction of the same useful medium.

It may have been, as it was undoubtedly, very slow work, but it had its compensations, for it was, as Dr. Fison says, by this means that 'he acquired the language of which he has now (ten years after) a thorough scholarly knowledge, knowledge which he is turning to good account, not only by compiling text-books for the College but also by preparing a grammar of the Tongan language, which I venture to predict will be hailed as a valuable acquisition to philology, for special interest is now being manifested in the dialects of savage tribes.'

Mr. Moulton's victory is all the greater in that he has had to grapple with something more than the difficulties inseparable from a work such as he has done. He has to encounter the objections of his brother missionaries, who, while they felt the highest admiration of his scholarship and his ability as a teacher, were afraid that his system of education would have a mischievous effect upon his pupils. They feared that the native mind had not sufficient ballast in it to warrant the carrying of such sail, and that the sudden acquisition of knowledge would result in a disastrous capsizing. Nor will any one who is acquainted with the South Sea island character be disposed to say that their fears were altogether groundless; and there are not wanting those who assert that there is a special reasonableness in such fears concerning the Friendly Islanders; for the national failing of the Tongans is admitted on all hands, by their friends as by their detractors, to be an overwhelming conceit of themselves. And if when

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uneducated they thought themselves to be so wonderful a people, we need not wonder that the missionaries speculated with considerable trepidation as to the probable effect upon them of a system of education such as that which Mr. Moulton rapidly developed.

'One such missionary, after visiting Tonga and making searching inquiry into the system on which Mr. Moulton works, made a public recantation of his preconceived ideas, and was, moreover, stirred up to enthusiastic laudation of Tubou College and everything connected with it. Others, also, who shared these prejudices, have found them removed by a closer acquaintance with the system. As to its dread influence upon the native mind, I did hear complaints from certain quarters of arrogant self-sufficiency displayed by a few young men who had passed through the College; but I found, on inquiry, in every case that they were men who had not manifested intellectual capacity for the higher branches of study, and who had therefore 'gone out on the pole.' They had not learned enough to discover that they knew nothing. Mr. Moulton assures me that his best scholars appear to grow humbler as they advance in their studies. The training and expansion of their minds enable them to see how wide are the fields of knowledge, whose outer verge alone they have been able to gain; and high-class education seems to have upon them the effect which it ought to have upon all men, showing them ever more clearly how vast is the unknown compared with the known; how little we know and how much we have yet to learn.'

'In conclusion,' Dr. Fison goes on to say, 'I

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have only to say that amongst the pleasant reminiscences of my visit to Tubou College, there linger two profound regrets. The first of these is that the circumstances of my visit were such as to prevent me from learning all that I wished to know concerning the College; and the second, that its excellent tutor has not a wider and more important field for the exercise of that rare gift which he possesses in so eminent a degree.'

The educational régime and curriculum and the system employed by Mr. Moulton in connexion with the College have, we think, been amply proved, both by time and by critic, to be eminently suited to the nature and disposition of the Tongan race.

The establishment of the College thus being firmly secured, the subject of this biography laid great plans for the future advancement of his work. There was the wide field of translation before him in the matter of text-books and other literary effort: and it was this which led up directly to a new and tragic period in his ministry.

CHAPTER VI

THE GREAT CALAMITY

THE VISIT TO ENGLAND

IT was nothing less than tragic that Mr. Moulton's visit to England in the furtherance of his translation schemes should have proved the means by which vindictive jealousy should have been enabled to carry out a deeply-laid and cleverly devised scheme for the undoing of his work. But so it was: and the tragedy of it all is deepened when it is remembered that the arch-plotter was a fellow minister—the Chairman of the District, in fact, under the Wesleyan Conference, until—well, we will not anticipate.

Reference has already been made to the hearty co-operation of King George with Mr. Moulton in his College projects: and certainly no former missionary had occupied such a place in the old monarch's affection and esteem as he had. It was this phase that was so especially distasteful to the prime mover in this plot; but to this must be added the fact that the promoter, as Chairman of the District, found the same person to stand in his way when he strove to carry out designs which could not be considered legitimate, from the standpoint of a Christian minister. With Mr. Moulton present, it seemed impossible for him to carry out to its fulfilment his own purposes: and his proud spirit could not brook any interference or intrusion. It was, therefore, necessary to remove that human 'thorn in the flesh.'

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The king was ageing, but he was the bosom friend of his opponent.

It was in the year 1876, at the District Meeting, that the scheme was launched. The matter was then raised with reference to the desirability of the revision of the Bible. There was no disparagement, in the suggestion, of the magnificent labours in this regard, of the veteran John Thomas, or of the other early missionaries who had co-operated to effect the first translation of the great Book. But that it needed revision was clearly apparent. And not less apparent was the fact that to no one better could the onerous task be entrusted than the Head Master of Tubou College.

The District Meeting was unanimous. To the congeniality of the work was added the further bait of a furlough which entailed a visit to the Old Country, so that the work might be seen through the press, which, indeed, meant something in those days of sailing-vessels.

The offer as set forth by the prime mover was great, and it was readily accepted. Had the true purpose of this wily move been suspected, it would have been met with a blank refusal: but Mr. Moulton was not one to credit others with corrupt motives, and he suffered for his faith in his fellows.

The parting with Tubou College was an affecting one. But that with the king was none the less so, and, when taken with subsequent events, the monarch's last words and actions were not without great significance. 'I fear, Mr. Moulton,' said he, 'that when you get away to Babalangi (civilization) you will not be likely to return.' Mr. Moulton quickly disabused the speaker's mind of his fears. But he was not quite convinced, and went so far as to present

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his departing friend with a most valuable curio, the historic club, the weapon which had been his trusty companion in all those heroic deeds which gained for him the ascendancy of the whole of the five groups of islands. It was not quite the old weapon, however, for he had had it smoothed and polished. With it, also, was presented an ironwood walking-stick, also polished. They had been fast friends in the past, and the tie of friendship was not less strong when they parted.

The party that left Tonga on June 2, 1877, consisted of four adults and five children, including a native, David Finau, who had done brilliantly in the College and had passed into the ranks of the ministry. It had been Mr. Moulton's firm determination, from the very first, that no translation should be done by him without a native assistant, as only through that medium could the best work be effected—a plan he now adopted and which he continued to adopt all through his long connexion with the Tongan people. And results all along the line have proved the wisdom of this step. England was reached in the middle of August, and the family made its way at once to Newark, whence Mrs. Moulton had set forth thirteen years before.

After a few weeks of rest Mr. Moulton decided to take up his residence at Richmond, Surrey, as being within easy reach of his publishers in London. Here for two-and-a-half years, within close proximity, too, of Richmond College, where his eldest brother had been classical tutor, he spent a most enjoyable time, for his heart was full of the spirit of translation work, and furthermore, David Finau proved a great acquisition in this department. The latter possessed, in no mean degree, the mind and spirit of a keen

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debater, and had both clearly marked opinions and fearlessness in expressing them. This proved of untold value to the translator, though it led to many a battle royal.

As a break, visits would be paid to the great Metropolis, and the sight and glamour of that imperial city of the world would be revealed in all their marvel to the mind of David Finau, who had actually begun life in heathen surroundings. He had the foresight, too, to keep a diary of all he saw, as well as careful notes of all he learnt of the New Testament through daily intercourse and much discussion with his enthusiastic teacher. These were a mine of untold value to him when, as a minister in charge of the head circuits of the group in after years, he was able to bring them to his aid when holding Bible-readings.

His intellectual capacity was of no mean calibre; and he was endowed with the gift of natural eloquence. He was in great demand at foreign missionary meetings, and his speeches made a deep impression on all who heard them. As an extempore speaker, few, if any, of the Tongans were his equal, and his evangelical zeal was of the hottest temper. It was ever Mr. Moulton's joy and pride to find that those he chanced to select as his amanuenses invariably upheld the reputation of the institution in which they had been educated and which he had inaugurated, whenever they chanced to appear before an English public.

It was an unfortunate development that, owing to certain restrictions imposed by it, he was unable to have this Tongan translation of the New Testament brought out under the authority of the British and Foreign Bible Society; all the more so because

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the generosity of that Society, in its association with Tonga, had been previously shown on two occasions. In 1853 they had gratuitously printed and sent out to those far-off mission-fields 10,000 copies of the New Testament, and in 1862 they had made a similar donation with respect to the publication of the Old. The difficulty arose, it is believed, over the original text to be used in the translation work. The Revised Version had not then appeared, and Mr. Moulton was unwilling to take the Authorized as the basis, but preferred the text of Westcott and Hort. This was not allowed by the Society's rules, and so, being determined to translate from the original Greek, he was reluctantly compelled to act independently of the Society, which involved the imposition of the burden of publication on Tonga.

The months of 1879 were drawing to a close, and, with them, the translation and printing of the New Testament, when disconcerting news from David Tonga, who had been left in charge of Tubou College, reached Mr. Moulton. As a matter of fact, the plans laid so deeply had been slowly and surely developing, until matters were now reaching a crisis. The eye of the Chairman had been turned towards the College, which was separate from the Church in its management, and the tutor in charge was constantly on the horns of a dilemma in his attempts to resist the encroachment.

David Tonga is ever spoken of as the finest product of the Tongan race, and he well deserved the praise. He was the personification of the 'iron-hand and the velvet-glove.' Strong of character and ever courteous in manner, self-restrained yet never flinching, he was the idol of the King, the chiefs and people. It was only through his tactful management

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that the College held its own until its real head returned.

The urgent letters from Tonga referred to made return now imperative, and in April of 1880 Mr. and Mrs. Moulton, with three of the family, embarked on the *Cotopaxi* en route for Sydney. They took the first opportunity of a vessel which was sailing for Tonga via Fiji, and they reached their destination during the latter part of the year after an absence of three years from the scene of their former labours. As far as he himself was concerned, Mr. Moulton had carried out his part of the contract undertaken, and he had his translation of the New Testament in book form to show on his return. He had not been hampered by the prohibitive restriction of a two-thirds majority of the translators before a new rendering could be sustained; so that many of the marginal readings of the Revised Version are found in the Tongan revision. The work had been accomplished in two and a half years, and has the charm of being pure and unadulterated Tongan.

But on his arrival, it was easy to perceive that things were not, by any means, what they had been. The changes reported were of a very momentous nature. Mr. Baker, the Chairman, had left the Mission House, and was installed in the Premier's office. This was the beginning of the crisis. The heavy cloud of trouble that had been gathering for three years was soon to burst; and when it did burst it called into being new qualities in the many-sided personality who is the subject of this memoir.

CHAPTER VII

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IT seems that the changes to which we have referred were the outcome of strong representations from the High Commissioner of the Western Pacific to the Conference of N.S. Wales against the conduct of the chairman of the Tongan District. This led to an inquiry by a deputation into the charges laid against him, charges that practically were upheld. As a consequence, Mr. Baker resigned his position as a Conference minister, and his resignation was accepted. Had such a course entailed his withdrawal from the islands, then the sad story of the secession and the consequent persecutions would never have had to be told. As it was, it resulted only in the unfortunate transformation of a minister of the gospel to a minister of the crown; for he had gained such an ascendancy over the aged king, and he had used the privilege to such a great extent, that he became, in the eyes of the monarch, so necessary to him in the management of his kingdom that he was looked upon as indispensable. That the new premier was a man of undoubted ability cannot be denied; but everything was marred by a spirit of vindictiveness and tyranny, which ruined every opportunity for abiding usefulness. He who might have made a name for himself to be revered by a grateful and appreciative people, ended his life in disgrace and oblivion.

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But the die was cast as far as he himself was concerned. He made the choice and had to take his chance of the consequences. It is with no small degree of pain that one studies the early mission reports, as presented by him, of the interesting religious development of this island-people and contrasts them with the ethical deterioration that subsequently took place in the heart and life of the same individual.

As has been stated, the change of conditions was at once discernible. The strained relations between the king and his old friend augured no future good, and were, at first, inexplicable; or only to be understood by the suspicion that another personality was dominating the mind and will of the aged sovereign. He became a puppet under the control of a stronger will, the ultimate result of which was to leave a sad blot on the character of the greatest names in the South Seas, one which every missionary, and the commander of every visiting warship, no matter of what nationality, could not but hold in the highest respect. But let it be understood at the very outset that the stigma in connexion with the troubles that ensued does not carry very much weight to those who were on the spot and knew the real hand that pulled the strings, and was responsible for the unfortunate events of this time. When thus understood, King George stands acquitted of the open acts of violence and tyranny which were performed, ostensibly, in his name and with his authority.

The storm did not actually burst until 1885, but the period from 1880 to that time was fraught with great difficulty, and it daily increased. No action was omitted that would impede the progress of the Wesleyan cause. The schools throughout the country,

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which, hitherto, had been successfully carried on under the efficient supervision of the Wesleyan Mission, were now taken over, but only after very strong protest, by the newly-formed government under Mr. Baker. Charges innumerable were levelled against Mr. Moulton at the District Meeting, but, when these were inquired into by the ensuing Conference, he was honourably acquitted on them all, and by a unanimous vote. To make matters worse, the king made a move to prohibit the missionary meetings for the year being held. As the income of the mission was solely dependent upon this one annual collection, this spelt financial bankruptcy. With great difficulty, however, the arguments of Mr. Moulton prevailed with the king, who withdrew his objection. But things still continued to go from bad to worse. The strained relations between them became greater. It is most amazing that he who had made such urgent entreaty to his friend when leaving the island not very long before to return, and had further emphasized his earnestness by a valued gift, should now, after no long lapse of time, refuse to see him. But so it was, to Mr. Moulton's great regret; and many years were to elapse before King George and he again met in personal intercourse.

But even such a strange antipathy can be solved without much difficulty. It seems that a suspicion had been aroused in the monarch's mind by the well-known enemy that Mr. Moulton was secretly working for the annexation of Tonga by England. That the autocratic king should resent such a course of action cannot be wondered at, if there had been any grounds for that suspicion. But there were none. It was the fabrication of a perverse and vindictive mind that could suggest such a possibility. Mr. Moulton had

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never been in such love with the changes that had taken place in Fiji, for instance, that he could wish for the introduction of similar policy in the islands to which he was so devoted. It was furthest from his thought, and was the one thing especially that he was working to prevent. But the king did not, and could not, know this, and it served the plotter's purpose well to leave him thus in the dark.

But amidst all the difficulties and disabilities, Mr. Moulton pursued his work. His undivided attention to the College, as heretofore, was now impossible, and to the double task he applied himself with characteristic energy. And the energy found an outlet in an unlooked-for direction. One night at the College prayer-meeting as he sat with his back against one of the great ironwood posts that helped to support the roof, he felt it move, as a heavy gust of wind struck the building. The post had served its time and had rotted. The others were probably in a similar plight. And the thought flashed across his mind. 'We must erect a new and more capacious building; and now or never.' The great difficulty was with regard to the procuring of the great posts, each of which, when rounded off to their proper proportions, would weigh, approximately, about two tons. And ironwood trees of the size required were few and far between. The authorities were against him, and the task contemplated would have been difficult even in peaceful times with no opposition. What chance now?

But providence over-ruled the difficulties, and the posts were provided from various parts of Tongatabu (the main island) with two from Vavau, obtained by the kind help of the king's grandson, Wellington, who was himself a graduate of the College and still

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friendly. The transfer of that from Eua, the picturesque and lofty island across the straits, and some twelve miles away from Nukualofa, the capital, was accomplished with great difficulty. The passage, to begin with, is an exceedingly dangerous one, and especially so when the wind is in a certain quarter; and further, the specific gravity of the water was not great enough to guarantee the buoyancy of the iron-wood post. And so it came to pass that, as they were towing it across in a whaleboat, the ropes broke and the huge beam began to sink. It was speedily recovered and brought to the surface by dexterous and dauntless swimmers, and at last was safely landed.

That from a village across the lagoon, under the charge of David Tonga, was brought on the shoulders of the lads themselves in the deep water in relays, some diving to relieve those already engaged in order to allow them breathing time. So this great post also was finally deposited in the College grounds. It was a great relief to all, but to Mr. Moulton especially, when the eight uprights had been safely gathered in. The most difficult part of the great task was done—and done amid touching manifestations of heartfelt devotion on the part of the College men.

In process of time the new, the present, capacious building, a model of Tongan architecture, was duly erected, thatched and finished to the great surprise and wonderment of all; and to none more than to the king himself, who could justly estimate from that great feat the spirit that possessed the party he was now opposing. To the harrowing cares of this disturbing period was added the sad loss by drowning of Mr. Moulton's second daughter. On the occasion

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referred to, he was attempting to cross the dangerous passage to Eua on such a quest. The weather became very 'dirty,' and, to make matters worse, the boat commenced to leak badly. To return to the mainland was impossible; to attempt the treacherous entrance at the landing-place was the only alternative left as being comparatively close, but even that, with the wind in its present quarter, had very little to recommend it. But this was done. It was becoming dark. Kind friends on shore lent their aid with lighted torches to indicate the narrow passage at the edge of the reef, now rendered doubly dangerous by the anger of the waves that pitilessly attacked. The rowers worked manfully, and, with a strong combined pull, the boat rushed into the seething mass of boiling foam. The steersman, however, unfortunately seems to have lost his head, for, at a critical moment, the rudder was wrenched from his grasp and from its sockets and the boat was capsized. Mr. Moulton found himself on the verge of a whirlpool, whose eddy nearly sucked him in. He was fortunate in being able to grasp a portion of a jutting rock, which saved him, and in having had the presence of mind to manipulate successfully the taking in of breath when the opportunity offered. A native vainly tried to get near enough to seize hold of him. All to no purpose. At last he was compelled to say, 'I can't save you, Mr. Moulton': to which he received the reply—the last words the drowning minister remembers before lapsing into unconsciousness—'Then, give my love to my wife.' But providence was near at hand to help. It seems that the words came with such a pang to the native that he was instantly urged to make another frantic effort. He felt a rock beneath him, and, with this as a foothold, he cried

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out—though the words were unheard—‘I can save you now, Mr. Moulton.’ And he clutched at and caught Mr. Moulton almost miraculously.

When he had safely reached the beach, he learnt that all the rest of the party had been saved with the exception of his own daughter, Emma, a girl of fourteen, whose body he saw being carried ashore by natives. For hours various attempts were made to restore animation but without effect. It would seem that, in the confusion of the moment, a native offered to take her, when she would, assuredly, have been saved. But, remembering a girl friend of hers, who was close beside her, she gave up the opportunity to her—a noble example of true self-sacrifice. It was a sad ending to a day of duty; and a heavy task for Mr. Moulton to perform, when he returned to Nukualofa with the silent form to break the news to the devoted mother.

In 1884 the Rev. E. E. Crosby arrived from England to reinforce him, but, of course, being new to the language and customs of the land, he was at first greatly handicapped. But he rapidly became invaluable to the superintendent at a time when he sadly needed sympathetic help and assistance. The cloud that had long been impending at last burst. The evolution of the schemes of the past few years culminated in a diplomatic *coup d' état*. It was the stroke of a master-hand and brain that could strike at the psychological moment. The opportunity offered itself. It was accepted: and the blow struck with effective force.

The king had been in Vavau, but had left it for Ha'abai for the set purpose, it was said, of erecting a new Wesleyan church at Lifuka, the capital, to replace the old, and on the same site. The premier could

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not resist the temptation, and persuaded the king to build, on an adjoining allotment, a magnificent edifice in the name of a new cause, to be known as The Free Church, and of which this was to be outstanding embodiment. The king acceded to the suggestion, and gave it his whole-hearted approval. It was an unwarrantable slip, and was the concoction of a clever brain but of an evil disposition. But the king, who alone could have thwarted it, was old, and the personality of his adviser, in things political or otherwise, was too overpowering to brook a denial. The Free Church thus came into being and had a local habitation and a name.

No exception can be taken to the inauguration of a new Cause, 'did the king so desire it. He, of course, was at perfect liberty to take such a step. But to stoop to actions that trespassed on rights of his subjects which had been conceded to them by a duly-signed constitution with a guarantee of absolute freedom in religious matters, was illegal and directly unconstitutional. But his authority was supreme in the land, and his word had ever been law.

The action in Ha'abai was repeated all over the group. Public meetings were held and addressed by the king in person and by Mr. Baker, and all were commanded to turn over to the new Church that had been formed. They, unfortunately, were able to persuade the Rev. J. B. Watkin to join them, and, with a good knowledge of the language and dispositions of the native, he was a strong addition to the cause.

The Wesleyan, the old cause, was stigmatized by a scornful epithet, which being translated means 'dependent'; the reason being that its funds were

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sent out of the country, and they were thus at the mercy of the Mission Board, who disbursed the funds under the direction of the N.S. Wales Conference. This was, ostensibly, the weightiest reason adduced for the action of disenfranchisement—a protest against the refusal of the Conference to fall in with their demands. Sir Charles Mitchell in his report seems to believe that they had reasons for their annoyance. But it is well to remember that the prime mover in this *coup d'état* was himself the worst offender in this respect, viz., of sending large amounts to the foreign mission exchequer—which, by the way, was, and always had been, the *modus operandi* of all missions in their relations to head quarters, who disbursed from the total missionary income, sums of money to the various stations concerned, in proportion to their respective needs. Nor must it be forgotten either that, while he was chairman, when he committed such an injustice, the burden never drew forth a complaint from the people, who, on the contrary, were only ever mindful of the great and untold blessings they had received from the executive and the church on the mainland. Bearing this in mind, it is not very difficult to be assured of the real quarter from whence this so-called grievance originated. In after years, when he was compelled, under force of circumstances, to sever his immediate connexion with the church he had set up for a short while, and afterwards made the attempt again to associate himself directly with it and had been rebuffed, he made the frank—and we believe the honest—avowal that the prime motive that had influenced him in this deplorable action had been his own interests and his own glorification.

Nor can any charge be sustained against the General

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Conference on the ground that they refused to meet the wishes of the king by granting the Tongan District a measure of independence as regards its own finances; for in 1881 the body referred to went so far as to create Tonga as a separate circuit in connexion with the New South Wales Conference, enjoying the privileges and freedom of the colonial circuits; which suited the case of the Tongan Church admirably. This resolution came into force in 1882, whereas it was not until 1885 that the Free Church was set up; so that the evidence on that score falls to the ground. Hence both the New South Wales and the General Conferences must be exonerated from the charge of having caused the split. The king was induced to make demands of them both that were not in keeping with their judgement of what was fair and just. The principal of these was that Mr. Moulton should be removed as the cause of friction and Mr. Watkin be allowed to remain. The General Conference agreed to the withdrawal of both, but this did not meet with the approval of the king, who strongly insisted upon the retaining of the latter.

It is impossible to gauge correctly the very difficult conditions which Mr. Moulton had to face at this time. Everything was against him. It seemed a 'forlorn hope' to attempt to keep the flag flying, when the king and government were 'up against him.' Mr. Watkin, too, had joined the Free Church party, and held the high position of its president. The cabinet, whose every portfolio seemed to be held by Mr. Baker himself, frequently met and passed laws, which immediately came into force, against the Wesleyan community. For instance, there was the law which forbade a closer proximity to each other of two churches than 200 yards. This was palpably

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unfair to the Wesleyan party, for their places of worship had already stood on their sites for many years, and the invariable rule, observed religiously by the opposing faction, was to erect all their new buildings within the prescribed distance and thereby to rule out the old-established cause. This law also delegated to the mayor of the town, always a Free Churchman, the sole right of arranging the hour of each service, since they must not be allowed to clash, and this led to many a weary inconvenience in consequence. It amounted to more than 'weary inconvenience' when a whole congregation was fined five pounds apiece for attending a Wesleyan service!

Other similar restrictions and persecutions were, unfortunately, very common. The feelings of the opposing churches became very strained. There was no justice to be expected in the law-courts. Wesleyans were debarred from holding any official position in the government or in the country towns. Those who held titles were deposed, unless they retracted and joined the king's church. Tempting offers of a higher emolument proved too strong for many of the Wesleyan ministers, and they joined the other side. Some did so unwillingly, but the word of the king, or of an influential chief, had too great weight, and they went. Nevertheless, there were those who were loyal to a degree that involved the loss of earthly possessions and status and even of friends—a faithful few, ministers and laymen, who were strong enough to obey the dictates of their own conscience, even though it involved persecution and material loss. They all declared they would have given their lives in battle for their king, but their religion was a matter between themselves and their God.

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But they paid for it. The king had met with a determined opposition on the part of some of his people. It was unexpected, and could not be tolerated. He was resolved to force them into obedience. There were some who committed the unpardonable sin of signing an appeal to Queen Victoria asking for Mr. Baker's removal. These were banished to an island, but were afterwards released by a British man-of-war. The strong stand, too, made by the Wesleyans in opposition to his repeated commands only exasperated the king the more. He came from one of the adjoining islands prepared to hang all who remained loyal to the old cause. It was heralded throughout the various villages that every Wesleyan, man, woman or child, sick or well, was to appear in the king's compound the next day. But they were unmoved by the threat and came. An early prayer-meeting in the historic church on the hill, Zion, was packed, and was on fire with spiritual fervour. Led by a young chief, they fairly rushed down the hill to the appointed spot and impending doom.

The king was staggered by their numbers. He could not think of thus wantonly depleting his tiny kingdom by the removal of so many. He therefore contented himself with sternly admonishing and then dismissed them. But the strain became more and more heavy upon the lessening numbers of the Wesleyan Church. This was felt especially in the matter of finance, where hitherto it had had no difficulty in meeting its liabilities. But, nevertheless, the few bravely shouldered the heavier burden in this respect.

But soon other handicaps were introduced. The pernicious laws levelled against the enfeebled Cause kept up a continuous volley of fines, in which the

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Church was invariably involved. Some of the villages could not now boast of a single adherent; yet the law relating to the 'keeping of the premises swept and weeded' still held good, and, although a caretaker was installed to attend to such matters, he was speedily dismissed, yet the fine was inflicted nevertheless. It would be wearisome to narrate in detail the various other methods to which the government stooped in order to further its interests and to render bankrupt the church to which it was so hostile. Banishment to outlying islands where food was scarce was also resorted to, one such 'criminal' being exiled for being so presumptuous as to pass the remark that 'the soil belonged to Jehovah.'

It was during this trying period that the Government College was established in direct opposition to Tubou College. It was carried out on the same lines precisely: and this was rendered possible by the fact that an ex-collegian was placed at its head. Over him was appointed a European principal. Its site was in close proximity to the older institution, and the students of the same carried out, for years, a most tantalizing tirade of abuse and insult against those of the other. As special enticements and attractions, those entering the new college were exempted from the payment of the full poll-tax, £2 per annum, and were required to find only one-half; while the government often would ease even this burden by providing work for these same students as an alternative. Both these concessions were denied to the students of Tubou College.

In the midst of it all, Mr. Moulton continued to labour with the greatest ardour for both the Church and the educational institution. He applied himself with unabated zeal to the work of translation. School

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text-books, histories, the *Pilgrim's Progress*, as well as story-books for the Sunday school, appeared. Tongan hymns, written on themes suggested by the environment of the hour, continued to appear, and were passed on from the College to the Church. The story is told by an eye-witness that these 'songs of Zion' were an untold boon to those banished, as we have stated some were, to solitary islands. The eagerness with which they asked, as the boats approached bearing them food, 'have you brought us another hymn,' and the joy at heart when the answer could be given in the affirmative, may be taken as sufficient proof of this.

The institution by the government of the militia in these dark days was a form, too, of persecution, in that when the specified age limit was reached, release was granted as a matter of course to Free Church men, but was denied to the Wesleyans.

The new Church, then, was thus firmly established, and its numbers grew rapidly. The active support of the government made its life easy, and fellowship with it was at once the medium whereby the goodwill and pleasure of the king might be obtained.

But the tyranny of a strong hand is exposed to great risks, the most dangerous of which lies in hyper-activity. And the high-handedness of the premier overstepped the mark, which hastened the crisis. The particular move—the first in his ultimate fall—was the acquirement of a property that belonged to the Royal House. Four miles from the capital, near the Lagoon, is situated Tufa Mahina, a lovely spot, and one that, like Naboth's vineyard, was coveted. The king was persuaded to hand it over to Mr. Baker. It was an unwise step, as it aroused the spirit of the natives as nothing else, perhaps, would

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have done. For, they reasoned, if such a chief's property can be touched with impunity, whose else is safe from such grasping hands?

At this time some prisoners escaped from prison, commandeered a boat, and, armed with rifles, got away. But it was the strong opinion of all that they had not gone far. Every available man in the island went in search of them for some considerable time, but without any result. This was in the latter part of 1886. Rumour had it that they were safely ensconced in the eastern end of the island and were daily becoming expert in the use of the rifle. Things quietened down somewhat in October, and they were forgotten for a time.

A new development in the militia occupied the attention for the hour. A magistrate was sent up one day when the soldiers were at drill on a specific mission. All were ordered to take an oath, and the Free Church quota did so without demur. But there was a protest on the part of the Wesleyans. 'What was the nature of the oath?' they asked. If allegiance to the king, they had no compunction whatever in the matter and would immediately take it: but swear a blind oath—never! The protest was referred to the premier, who gave no satisfaction; he who refused was to be thrust at once into prison. As a consequence, many of the Tubou College students were incarcerated and took their trial some days after. Some were then acquitted altogether, while others—why, it is hard to say—were sentenced to six or eight months' imprisonment. But the action of the judge even then did not seem to please the premier, who ordered a fresh imprisonment of those who had been acquitted, with a new trial for all, whose sentences he himself dictated to the obedient and fawn-

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ing magistrate. As a result, some of the victims received two and three years, others one. One of these was found working in leg-irons on a small island near Nomuka, while those who refused to turn over to the Free Church were seen still employed as government prisoners after their term had expired. We need not dwell on the injustice of such a procedure.

The Christmas of this year passed as usual. The carol singing by the Tubou College students, possessing a charm ever its own, was carried out. The New Year, too, was ushered in by the government band, who played the old year out with the strains of 'the Dead March in Saul,' while the churches spent the moments in silent prayer and then mingled more joyous strains with the voices of the congregations, who sang, 'Come, let us anew.' But a well-remembered night is that of the thirteenth of January, 1887, on which an attack was made by the escaped prisoners on the premier's life, as he drove along the beach from his home to his office. The attack miscarried, for Mr. Baker escaped unscathed, though his son, who gallantly faced the would-be assassins, was seriously wounded by the discharge in the arm, and a daughter, who heroically attempted to protect her father, received, in the act, a bullet in the thigh, was thrown backward on the ground by the action of the startled horse, and received serious injuries.

The upshot of all this was an extended campaign of revenge. It was alleged, without any just foundation of fact, that the plot against the premier had been set on foot by the Wesleyans. The intention of the escaped prisoners, it was afterwards discovered, was only known to an adherent into whose house they had forced an entrance for the night. And even he

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had expostulated without success at such an intrusion, and made off the next day as a protest. There was one other also, the self-sacrificing minister referred to previously, who happened to be then working out his unjust sentence close by, and who had casually paid a visit to the house just mentioned. He it was who, in reply to a statement made by one of the culprits that they had come down to shoot Mr. Baker, said, 'Go to the bush with your devil's work.' These were the only persons who could be said to have had any knowledge of what was contemplated. In the case of the one, he did no more than to allow, under the pressure of the pointed rifles, the would-be assassins an asylum for the night under his roof; in that of the other, he was faced with a perplexing dilemma. He had to go to his work early, and he could not satisfy himself that the intention was genuine. So many similar empty threats had been bruited abroad for some time past and without any definite result achieved, that he scarcely felt justified in laying the information lest he should thus, unwittingly, involve some persons in serious difficulties. He worked away all day, weighing the matter, and still was undecided what to do for the best. Shortly after his return to his home, he was startled to hear the shot fired and the warwhoop (the natural mode of sounding an alarm amongst the Tongans) raised. Only then did he know that the alleged threat had been, alas! carried into effect.

The record of the next few weeks we would fain leave untold. When the premier had recovered from the momentary shock, which completely unmanned him for a while, he sent in all directions for warriors to hasten in search of the perpetrators of the dastardly deed. The old war-spirit was at once aroused.

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In war-paint and almost nude, with Wesleyan exceptions, they came, firing shots and raising their awful soul-terrifying warwhoops. Not content with the force that Tongatabu, the main island, could supply, a schooner was immediately despatched north, to Ha'abai and Vava'u—one and all were to come, was the message, as many as could bear arms.

But there really was no need for this, for the men had been secured—as a matter of fact, they had given themselves up, and were safely lodged in gaol by the Friday of that exciting and trying week. There was quite time enough to countermand the order, for the schooner was within call, having vainly attempted to get away before a 'head wind.' But no such step was taken. Why? The soul was not thus to be satiated—that was all. The consequence of this was that every available cutter from the two northern groups of islands was requisitioned and a force of five or six hundred warriors, all in war-paint and infused with the war-spirit, were soon landed at the capital. They had to be fed. The easiest method of provision for such a host—and it was a most congenial form of revenge upon his hated opponents—was to turn them loose upon the enemy; and this was done. The next few weeks was one series of awful stories of lawlessness. The plantations and properties and belongings of the Wesleyans in the country districts were ravaged and ruthlessly plundered; men and women found themselves surrounded by a band of warriors, who, with loaded and pointed rifles, demanded of them the immediate answer whether they would be Free Church or Wesleyan, and with the added emphasis of 'Speak, or we'll shoot you.' Is it to be wondered at that many turned under such a menace? The chiefs vied with

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each other to stamp out Wesleyanism. Women were flogged with buggy-whips, and men were cruelly beaten and painfully tied up with their hands behind them and left in the broiling hot sun until they fainted. Some of the ministers, whose only crime was loyalty, had to run the gauntlet of spiteful warriors armed with clubs, while others were cruelly rammed with the butt end of rifles.

During these proceedings the prison was full of victims who underwent their trial in a closed court with a packed jury. As a result, seven men were sentenced to death for their complicity in the 'assassination': which unjust sentence was carried out one sad day on an island in the harbour, where the poor unfortunates bravely met their doom, being shot head-first into their graves. Thirty others would have been similarly treated but for the timely arrival of a British warship which frustrated the execution of the judgement passed upon them.

An attack was made upon the College itself. A message came from the king that it was to be disbanded; that every student was to return to his own home. Warriors poured in to the College residential premises, and the looting began. Mr. Moulton hurried to the scene as quickly as possible after dispatching his son to the consulate to make his appeal and lodge his protest, for it was leased property that was being threatened.

Meanwhile he showed himself equal to the task of keeping the foes at bay. This he did in a most unconventional way. It seemed to come to him as an inspiration, and he promptly acted upon it. He immediately pulled a piece of paper from his waistcoat pocket, quickly found a lead-pencil in the same quarter, and, rushing up to the first delinquent,

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demanding of him his name and forthwith recorded it. Then to the next, and the next, and so on. Such a procedure struck them as being shrouded with such awe-inspiring mystery that it had the required effect of sobering them for a while; for long enough, at any rate, to allow of the arrival of the acting-consul, who at once ordered the British flag to be hoisted. This was quite sufficient to stay the proceedings and call a halt.

But the king's commands as regards the students had to be obeyed, and would brook no denial. Summoning them, therefore, into the College Hall (the writer well remembers the occasion, for he was present) Mr. Moulton gave out the hymn, 'Light after darkness.' A brave start was made, and the tune struck up, but the majority did not get further than a verse or two at most. It was pathos personified to see the tears streaming down the cheeks of stalwart men and youths, as they thought of what was before them. The only voice that could be heard was that of the Head Master, who, as once again later, showed his wonderful command over his feelings on such a trying occasion and sang the rest of the hymn through himself. After a short passage of scripture had been read by one of the head boys and the Lord's Prayer chanted—the usual mode of opening the School—he addressed them. Let them not be downhearted; they had had a long spell of College routine; let them look upon the enforced break as a sort of holiday of six or seven weeks' duration and then term would commence afresh. He concluded with a prayer and dismissed them.

But all through his heart had been inexpressibly heavy. It was the greatest blow of his life, and it

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was an unjust one. It was at the king's special request that the College had been established; and it was by his express command that it was now disbanded.

Things went from bad to worse. Day by day fresh news kept reaching him of those who had turned over. Some of these were amongst his most trusted followers; but he knew well that only by fear and threats had their loyalty been made to falter. The churches were all closed throughout the land. No service was held in Zion for six weeks. The fire of persecution burned too fiercely to allow of this. Mr. Moulton could not bear to see or hear of the brutal treatment meted out on every hand: and to have rung the bell for divine worship would have brought on him a sense of guilt in having subjected the loyal few, who remained, to further punishment. So he possessed his soul in patience and waited.

Things reached a crisis, however. Rather than see them hammered from day to day, he felt it would be far better to suggest some asylum for the faithful few. The king had now gone so far as to refuse to have any Wesleyans at all in his kingdom. Acting on this, and in conjunction with the consul, he wrote to the king asking leave for those who still remained loyal to the Church of their choice to be sent to Fiji. This was refused. It is well to remember this fact. But the command was that they must leave the Tongan Group. A government schooner was in harbour, and all Wesleyans were ordered to embark. They were to be exiled. To what island was not revealed, but it was generally believed that the lonely and waterless island of Pylstaart was to be their destination. Mr. Moulton made every provision for

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this contingency. Tanks were bought and food placed on board for the purpose. On the shore the noble few, some sixty or seventy souls, met. Mr. Moulton offered prayer, committing them to God's tender compassion and care; and with saddened heart saw them board the schooner, and they finally sailed away—for *somewhere!* A gentleman, however, in sympathy with the persecuted church also boarded her at the last moment and ascertained from the captain that his orders were—FIJI. A similar contingent were sent as exiles from Ha'abai and Vava'u, and among them, in addition to the Rev. David and Rachel Tonga, went Salote, the king's own daughter.

The less said about their voyage the better. The food provided for the Wesleyans was commandeered by the captain for his crew, and in a sorry plight they reached Fiji. Here, with British humanity, the governor treated them with the greatest kindness, caring for them, and finally giving them the island of Koro for their present habitat. There we will leave them, exiles for conscience sake, protected by the kind, strong arm of England, with none to interfere with their right to worship God in whatever church they desired. The Tongan captain referred to, however, was cross-examined: his replies were taken down in shorthand and afterwards used against his own evidence given in Tonga some weeks later.

Such an experience might easily have been sufficient to crush an ordinary man. But, despite his anxiety and depression of soul, mind, and body, Mr. Moulton still plodded along. Six weeks afterwards, as stated above, he determined to commence the Sunday services at Zion. The bell was accordingly



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF NUKUALOFA (CAPITAL).



ZION CHURCH, NUKUALOFA.
Taken from Roof of Mission House.

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rung, and to his great surprise, quite a large number—an astonishing one under the circumstances—was found gathered there. But the very sound of the bell had put the opposition on the alert. Police with rifles were soon at the doors, and took down the names of all who had dared to enter, to be submitted to the king.

It must not be supposed that Mr. Moulton himself had not also been subjected to insult all through these trying times. When the persecution was at its height, he permitted the belongings of some of the Wesleyans in Nukualofa to be thrown over the Mission House fence to save them from the marauding bands. The government took exception to this. The persons of some were not immune from either warriors or relatives, and they found an asylum in the same leased grounds. Girls were still willing and anxious to help in the housework, the heavier work being done by a man on these same premises. But this did not now meet with the approval of the premier, who desired to subject his opponent to the hardship of a boycott. Guards were found at the Mission House gates one morning, ostensibly to protect Mr. Moulton's life from mythical harm (such was the reply given in answer to a protest made through the consul on the subject), but really it was to watch and take the names of all who had taken refuge there or still continued so to do. Mr. Moulton then applied for special English constables to guard these guards, which application, eventually, had the pleasing effect of removing the evil; and he was then left unmolested. But persecution still continued. Nor was it confined only to Tongatabu, the main island. Ha'abai and Vava'u suffered very considerably in this respect. Might in very truth seemed to be Right.

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Nevertheless there had been quiet forces at work, which finally brought relief to some extent. Early one Sunday morning the gun from the pilot station revealed the fact that a vessel was sighted. The government flags proclaimed it to be a man-of-war. Shortly after it dropped anchor in the harbour and proved to be the H.M.S. *Diamond* from Fiji, with the High Commissioner of the Western Pacific, Sir Charles Mitchell, his Secretary, and the Chief Justice, on board.

It was February and the middle of the hurricane season, a most unusual time for such a visitation. But the telegram from the Home Authorities, it appears, had been very urgent, and the injunction had been to proceed to Tonga without delay and inquire into the alleged persecutions that had taken place there. This was the outcome of a pamphlet bearing on the question that had been sent to every Member of the House of Commons.

Arrangements were made by the High Commissioner with the respective parties concerned as to the commencement of the inquiry and the scope it was to cover. Means for bringing over witnesses from the various islands were undertaken. For five consecutive weeks the inquiry continued. His Excellency left no stone unturned to get at the root of the matter. At the close of that period, although most important witnesses from Vava'u had not arrived, owing to the breakdown of a steamer sent to bring them, the inquiry was closed. There was no further need for those from the north, for the persecution had been amply proved. This and more appeared in a lengthy report which was embodied in the Blue-Book sent to the Home Authorities. Mr. Baker was 'worthy of deportation,' but that power the

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High Commissioner did not put into execution on account of the fact that he thought the king needed him for the administration of his kingdom. But promises were made to His Excellency that there should be no more persecution. Permission also was given by the king for the re-opening of Tubou College, though the number of the students was limited to under forty.

Appreciation of Mr. Moulton's bearing and conduct in these times of great difficulty was shown by the fact that the High Commissioner attributed the prevention of civil war to his pacific measures and counsels. And this was true enough. More than once he was urged by Wesleyan chiefs, stung to the quick by the wrongs and insults to which the church and its adherents were subjected, to loosen the rein and permit them to fight. Right was on their side and, though fewer in numbers, yet victory would crown their whole-hearted efforts. But the hand was firm. To all these urgent pleadings the same dogged reply was given: 'No, only have patience and we shall win in the end. What you ask would ruin the Cause.' And they so trusted his guidance that, though they chafed sorely at the exercise, they implicitly obeyed. That they were able so successfully to curb their feelings is a glorious tribute to the calibre of their Christianity as well as to their implicit confidence in their leader. The persecution was a refining fire, and the noble band of Wesleyans in this tiny group of islands came through the test superbly. Mr. Crosby, as has been said, proved himself a loyal ally all through. He greatly helped to lighten the burden of his superintendent or to make it as light as it was possible under such deplorable conditions. He had been sent to take

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charge of Vava'u, where he did yeoman service in keeping the Church alive.

The *Diamond* had sailed away, and on board went those whose death sentence had not yet been carried out. It was hardly thought wise to leave them behind. But no sooner had the warship departed than it was very evident that the promises made were not to be faithfully kept. Though not to such a degree as before, the undercurrent was still strong, and the difficulties of church work were thereby rendered exceedingly great.

Tubou College, however, was re-opened, and solid work was done as far as possible. Prior to this, important changes had been introduced. Women students had been permitted to enter the College and to carry on their education with the others. This came into vogue soon after Mr. Moulton's return from England. Of course, there was a great outcry at first raised against such a dangerous innovation. But the logic of facts stared Mr. Moulton in the face, and he was not one to be easily turned aside from his purpose by opposition, when he had no doubt in his own mind of the necessity of a step. The facts were these. He found that, after he had spent his energies on the education of the male students, some of his best, after having passed through the College course, would be led, by outside intervention (for marriages are arranged by the relatives in these islands and the proposal of marriage by proxy) to marry a girl outside, and the match would be totally unequal. Mr. Moulton, therefore, determined to include the education of the Tongan girl, so that the student man and wife might be equally yoked. The plan has succeeded splendidly. There was awakened thereby in school hours a healthy rivalry,

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and the very influence of the College environment had a most beneficial effect on the girl student. There have been cases when the dux of the class, and even of the College, has been a girl.

Out of school hours, the women students retired to their own premises near the Mission House. They were taught household duties there in turn, week by week; and the afternoons were devoted to sewing, drawing, &c. They were further taught music. Many of them to-day are ministers' and students' wives, and the training they have received needs no other advertisement than that which is afforded by the contrast with the ordinary Tongan home. And yet it has to be recorded that, now and again, the very object in view in this matter was frustrated by the relatives. The College student had an enviable status, especially when the *Matematika* Examination had been successfully passed, which, only naturally, attracted aspirants from the uneducated. But, generally speaking, the main object was attained.

It was during these hard times that Mr. Moulton inaugurated and successfully carried on what was known as the *Helohelo* Class. This consisted of Old Boys who had passed their matriculation. The fear was—and common experience tells that such is not groundless—lest, after having left the environment of Tubou College, there should be a tendency to become 'rusty' amidst the heavy demands of other duties. Such a state is ever to be deplored, and especially in the ranks of the ministry. To counteract such a possibility the advanced class was formed. On one of the free days of the week (Thursday, for instance) Mr. Moulton delivered lectures to those who had the will and disposition to assemble from various parts of the islands. An

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obvious drawback was soon noticed, which was that those desirous of sharing in the privilege but who resided in Ha'abai or Vava'u, were placed at a disadvantage because of the distance. This during the first few years of its introduction could not be obviated, but after 1895 the difficulty was met thus. Opportunity was taken when Synod was over—and at this important annual meeting there was ever a large gathering of Old Boys, collegians as well as ministers—to deliver lectures morning and afternoon for a week. The substance of these was taken down by each according to his several ability, although in later years Mr. Moulton would himself write out a fuller résumé of the course delivered. This was typewritten, and a copy was sent to each island. From this as an original the students concerned each took copies, and, at a stated time, an examination was held on the same, the marks obtained being recorded. After a few years the strong were separated from the weak, being advanced to a higher division. The acme to be reached was the coveted 'Helo,' the Grecian *Hero*. Between the *Matematika* and that ideal lie the *Helohelo* stages, the Probationary being the first, with H.H.¹, H.H.², and H.H.³, as marks of successive advancement, and as a result of success in the examinations.

The plan has worked wonders, not only in the intellectual development of the student, but also in the stimulus it has been to both ministers and laymen at a period of incalculable difficulty. It acted as a strong preventative to some whose courage was on the wane; and besides all this, it was the coping-stone that gave additional prestige to the educational status of the institution in the eyes even of its opponents. It might be mentioned also that

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the *Helohelo* students had the privilege of wearing the academic gown, while the H.H.³ had the added right of donning a hood.

With the increase of sphere came increased pressure of work. There was no relaxation in translation. The Bible, histories, hymns—these and more were diligently dealt with. The new departure of including women resulted in the introduction of solo singing. This, also, was a bold step from the point of view of Tongan etiquette. It was by no means in accordance with custom from a native standpoint for a girl to stand alone on a *daïs* to sing. But that Rubicon was at last crossed. Amelia Fifita was the first, and she charmed the audience by her rendering of 'Charity' (Stephen Glover) and other songs. By the addition of female voices, soprano and alto parts were thus rendered possible. The first had hitherto been taken by men's voices, while the latter had been omitted.

One of the hardest day's work that Mr. Moulton did was during this period. It was borne in upon him that the premier was contemplating a serious attack on church properties. These had hitherto been protected by a legal document signed by the king, at the premier's instigation ten years previously, in 1875; but by the very nature of the changes that had taken place, the conditions of the Model Deed had not been satisfied. Some of the trust properties had no trustees, and the blow was to be struck at this point. Now in the island of Tongatabu alone there were something like fifty trusts, and it was a large order to call meetings and appoint trustees at the various places in a single day. Failure to do so would have been disastrous to the security of the church property. Fortunately, the arrange-

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ments made were loyally supported. Taking boat before dawn, the first series of meetings was held at Kolonga, fifteen miles away. Trustees were duly appointed for all the villages in close proximity to that centre. Jumping into a buggy that was in readiness there, Mr. Moulton drove to Muà, the capital of the eastern section of the island. There a similar set of meetings was held and the necessary appointments made. The mission boat, by which he had proceeded to Kolonga, was in waiting here also, and in due course he arrived at Beka on the Lagoon near home. He was soon at the College, where he found representatives from all the remaining parts of the island awaiting him. Trustees were appointed for every church in the western and central divisions. The sun had well gone down before the strenuous day's work was ended. It left him, of course, thoroughly exhausted physically, but his mind was at rest, for the situation had thereby been saved. The premier's attempts to touch the mission property was rendered abortive, to his great annoyance.

To the disabilities narrated were added the mental worry of church finances. The bane of crippled numbers, despite the fact that the 'remnant' gave magnificently at their annual collections, was seen in the not unnatural consequences—crippled finances. And the aftermath of the Secession had brought a large bill of disabilities in its wake, consisting of fines and large food accounts. The objective of the enemy had been plainly to bankrupt and thus banish out of Tongan existence a Church that was so antagonistic to his will. And it did seem at times as if that was about to be only too truly accomplished.

But the Wesleyan Church is a brotherhood, with a potency of association which, while it may not

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always be fully revealed, yet, in its real form, exists for all that. It only awaits the tocsin of urgent need to bring it into active operation, and to show its intrinsic worth in a manner that has surprised the world. The strong personality guiding the opposition forces in Tonga, despite his acknowledged administrative ability, had been guilty of overlooking this important element of Wesleyanism. His eyes had been too much blinded by the seemingly uninterrupted flow of the current of success, and hence, probably, it had escaped his ken. But Mr. Moulton had not overlooked it. Might had been Right hitherto, as often before; but he felt that, if there were a God in heaven, the tide would turn. The Church was of divine origin, and would come out of the fire, if not scatheless, at any rate, though scarred and wounded, alive. His faith was undoubtedly strong, and his optimism unconquerable; and linked with these he had 'the greatest thing in the world,' love, as shown at this stormiest of times, to the people whose interests he espoused in matters material, as well as intellectual and spiritual. And such a strong enrolment of God-given forces combined to carry him and the Church through its difficulties.

Pressed, but not depressed, by the straitened financial stress, which ever at this time stared him in the face, he attended the N.S. Wales Conference. The Tongan had become one of the 'burning' questions of that Assembly every year of late, and loyally it played its part. It was ever patient in its hearing of the sorrowful tale that had to be told: and earnest in its dealings with the case when presented. On this occasion it showed no small practical interest in the deplorable financial state of the crippled cause,

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as revealed by the fact that in one day £1,000 was generously donated by the members of the Conference to the Tongan Church. Permission was also given whereby the whole State might be canvassed for funds. With Henry Taliai, a student of Tubou College, whom he had brought up with him for the purpose, Mr. Moulton toured the colonies and added another thousand pounds to that already received. He could not give more than a few weeks to the effort, being compelled soon to return to the scene of difficulty.

But in Tonga, despite the promises made to the High Commissioner, matters were still far from satisfactory. The king's opposition and dislike to Mr. Moulton was abnormally accentuated; but, as a matter of fact, it was almost impossible to arrive at reality so long as the influence which operated so powerfully on the monarch's mind and hand remained near and around him.

The General Conference of 1888, held at Adelaide, was memorable to all who attended it, and to the interested section without, who watched its movements in connexion with the Tongan question. The debates were hot over the proposed removal of Mr. Moulton from Tonga. It was stated that it was the wish of the king, that his presence in Tonga was inimical to the interests of peace, and so forth. A split in the Conference seemed impending, and feeling ran high. There were those who felt it an injustice to the brave and loyal Wesleyans to remove one who had served them and the Conference so faithfully during such a trying ordeal. Mr. Moulton was strong in his determination to remain. Who could be sent at this crisis to fill his place was the question, and the demand was imperative for a

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strong man, and one who was conversant with the language. Further, to act as was suggested would be tantamount to a reflection on Mr. Moulton's administration, and the Conference repudiated such an idea. Opinion seemed to be pretty well divided and the case desperate. One of the patriarchs of Australian Methodism, the Rev. John Watsford, approached Mr. Moulton privately and said, in a tone of grave concern, 'Brother Moulton, can't you suggest an alternative? Otherwise, I am afraid, there will be a serious split in the Conference, unless some way out of the difficulty is found.' A sleepless night of agonizing prayer followed; and light at last dawned. At the Conference the next day Mr. Moulton stood up and stated that he would be willing to withdraw from Tonga on condition that Mr. (now Dr.) George Brown was sent in his place. Instantly there was a deep feeling of relief. The air was freer. It did seem to be the only feasible solution of a crucial difficulty. Mr. Brown, after careful thought, decided in the affirmative, and the Station-sheet of Tonga was thus altered, subject to confirmation at the ensuing New South Wales Conference.

Some one has called this 'the great self-denial'—and the sacrifice it involved to Mr. Moulton makes it assuredly worthy, we think, of such a description. He was conscious that the change proposed would not in any way affect the condition of the Wesleyan Church in Tonga; for, though his opponents had been strong in their emphatic asseveration that his presence was a menace to all peace there, yet he was perfectly aware that the grudge was not confined to the narrow limits of his own personality, but rather to the Wesleyan body as a whole, as represented by the Conference. He was,

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further, unwilling to sever his connexion with a people whom he loved and with whom he had passed through such a fierce fire of trial. He had made plans for the future and had educational schemes and work in hand and in prospect. And his heart was, therefore, very sore at the thought of having to leave all such behind him. But he made the sacrifice, perhaps the greatest in his life, and agreed to withdraw.

We need not linger on the painful parting between the missionary and people. A long, and an especially close and peculiar association with each other for over twenty-three years could not be broken without the severest pang. The last meeting which they held together was in every way pathetic, and once more they sang their plaintive dirge. Dr. Brown, in his biography, has called attention to the remarkable self-control displayed by Mr. Moulton when, accompanied by a large concourse of people, he bade farewell to them at the wharf. Keen eyes watched the whole proceedings with the aid of opera-glasses. But the ordeal was bravely faced, and the steamer at length bore away from the wharf. When a short distance away, Mr. Moulton struck up 'Light after darkness'—the hymn that was associated so closely with another sad occasion a year or so previously—and the tune was taken up by the waving natives on shore. Again there was a collapse: and, as before, Mr. Moulton was the only one who seemed able to control his feelings. Yet, despite that unconquered exterior, there must have been a spirit inexpressibly bruised. He was leaving the land which had been the sphere of all his religious and educational triumphs, and the people who were his children in the gospel. And it might be for ever!

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It was a sad close to a term of service that had been conspicuous for its devotion and fidelity to duty—a cruel irony of fate. He had come at the king's earnest request and had carried on, to unprecedented success, the work entrusted to him. It was ostensibly from the same quarter that his enforced exit had been brought about. His enemy for so many years had apparently triumphed. But his own triumph was greater, for his removal was the outcome of a self-denial and sacrifice that can never die, the sinking of his own will and desire for the anticipated good of the people he loved—a sinking, which in his own judgement, by the way, would not bring the desired end. He thus bowed in his loyalty to the consensus of opinion of his ministerial brethren in the General Conference.

But his work had not been a failure. The intellectual superstructure that he had attempted to rear on the solid foundation of the gospel had been remarkable in its quality. It had already played a potent part in its effect on the land as a whole and on the life of the Church in particular. And though now removed from the sphere where his efforts would have directly added further benefits in the same direction, the mark of his work had been indelibly made on the life of the nation and people. But, indirectly, his purpose was still to work for them and to extend the literature that it had been his joy to give them. In the carrying out of this purpose he could find some degree of consolation to counteract, in a measure, the poignancy of the hour.

The steamer on which Mr. Moulton and family had embarked passed on to Fiji. Here, while awaiting the departure of the Sydney boat, the opportunity was seized of paying a flying visit to Koro,

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where the exiles had their home. Who can describe the feelings of joy when they met their beloved pastor? His stay, though short, was full of encouragement to them, and he left them with hearts greatly cheered. With him came John Fekau, a collegian of great mental ability, to help in translation work. Not many days after he reached Sydney, where he took up his residence at Summer Hill. At his suggestion the Foreign Mission Board sent for David and Rachel Tonga, who shortly afterwards arrived and were employed in deputation work throughout the Commonwealth. Their vivid stories of the persecutions aroused the feelings of intense indignation to a great pitch, and their meetings everywhere were a substantial help to the funds of that important society.

CHAPTER VIII

THE AFTERMATH

MR. MOULTON arrived in Sydney in the month of August 1888, and for the few months that still remained, before Conference could appoint him to a circuit, he took up his residence at Summer Hill with his family around him complete, with the exception of one of his sons, who, however, joined the home circle in the following December. For eight years it had been dissevered—one of the innumerable sacrifices contingent on all missionary work; now, happy in the bosom of his family, he entered as energetically into his translation work as before.

The following Conference gave him a city circuit, Mt. Lachlan, and although his services here only lasted for a period of a single year, yet the work he did has left its mark, to judge by the testimony of those who in after years refer to it with thankfulness. Even then he was compelled, on account of an enemy that had long harassed him—asthma—to seek for a short respite at Bathurst, when his duties were faithfully undertaken by the Rev. William Jeffries, who had just arrived from England, and who, from that time to the present, has been conspicuously connected with Australasian Methodism. From 1890 to 1893 he became a supernumerary, but still was connected with Tonga in his capacity as Book-room Steward. His translation work never ceased, nor

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did he fail to anticipate that, some time or other, the way would again open for his return to the land and people he loved with such devotion.

The door quite unexpectedly opened for him in the year 1890; though it was after he had left Australia for England, that a turn in the tide of affairs in Tonga made this possible. The visit to the Old Country was quite unexpected, and was the result of a kind invitation from his brother. It was a chance not to be missed, and the time was opportune, for he had no circuit obligations to hamper him. And it was while he was thus on this unexpected visit to England that the change of events in Tonga occurred. It was on this wise.

Mr. Baker, it seems, had not been satisfied with having temporarily ousted his opponent, but he must needs incur the guilt of maligning the name and prestige of the British representative in Tonga. The libel was in connexion with events bearing upon the attempt upon his own life in 1887. He, very inadvisedly, gave official support to a reflection made upon the consul, who, it was stated, had had the rifles used against him concealed under the Consulate. Sir John Thurston had succeeded Sir Charles Mitchell as High Commissioner of the Western Pacific, and had 'had many years' experience in Fiji. He was an expert therefore in the native character and temperament. He forthwith took steps, and extorted from Mr. Baker—but not without some difficulty it would seem—a humble apology, which amounted to a retraction of the statements made.

Some little time afterwards, His Excellency had occasion to pay a visit to Tonga, and while there, the principal chiefs seized the opportunity of making a strong appeal to him to remove Mr. Baker, who

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was represented as being inimical to the highest interests of the island and people. After serious thought and calm deliberation, Sir John decided to accede to the request made, and, to Mr. Baker's surprise, one morning he was served with a notice of deportation for two years. The shock was emphasized by the realization that a body of blue-jackets were on guard around the palace, where, for many years now, he and his family had taken up their established quarters, and also- at his own (the premier's) office. He had to face the unwelcome fact that his sun had at last set, and his long reign had come to an untimely end.

The excitement all around when the truth was noised abroad was intense. The revulsion of feeling was but natural, and led sundry officials into extremes, when they experienced a sense of liberty unknown before during the reign of tyranny. The Hon. George Tuku'aho, a chief of very high rank and an ex-student of Tubou College, was appointed premier. There was a sigh of relief all over the island at the welcome change, and few hearts felt sad when the Union Company's steamer left, carrying with it as a passenger the man who had played for so long such a high-handed game in the political life of Tonga and its people. Nor were the people ungrateful to the High Commissioner for his action. They loaded him with presents of a native character, and publicly thanked him as their benefactor, ere he left for his official home.

But, before he did so, an amnesty was readily granted by the king; political prisoners were set free, and, amongst the first of these, the exiles in Fiji. These were sent as soon as possible in a steamer graciously chartered by the Fijian Govern-

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ment, and there are those who still remember the character of the scenes that ensued when, at last, they reached their native shore. The meeting of Princess Charlotte and the king, her father, in this connexion, was a most pathetic one. Religious matters began to right themselves slowly but surely, and no one can shut his eyes to the fact that from this time the two churches that had long been severed began to draw together.

And Mr. Baker? Well, we may, perhaps, be pardoned if we continue his history still further, for it can be told in a few words. He left Tonga a deposed premier, but rich in the spoils of many years of uninterrupted financial advantages, which he had used to the full. But, after five or six years, he returned once again to the scene of his former triumphs a bankrupt man, with practically nothing. His request to be admitted into the Free Church circle was refused. He tried, but failed, to gain the ear of the young king, even though the latter owed his occupation of the Tongan throne to his diplomacy, old King George being still alive. Thus baffled, he took advantage of the misfortunes of a rejected princess, in her claim for the king's hand, to espouse her cause. He started another new church, calling it 'Victoria's Church,' which she readily joined. By this means he was able to influence a minority to support him, and raised a considerable sum of money. He made the attempt, too, to persuade Bishop Willis of Honolulu to join hands with him and the princess, but without success. The bishop was without a diocese at the time, owing to the recently established American oversight of the island; but although he came over on a visit, and ultimately did identify himself—like most of the Europeans—with the Church

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of England, he repudiated any connexion with the new movement.

The opposition, however, being somewhat strong in Tongatabu, Mr. Baker removed to Ha'abai, and was well received there by his own. There was a flourish of trumpets at first, but it soon died away, and he found himself sorely put to it to obtain means for subsistence for himself and his grown-up family. At length he died at Lifuka, and a Seventh-Day Adventist elder, who chanced to be passing through on the steamer at the time, officiated at his grave. So to the very land where his name had been held in awe and his word for many years had been law, he eventually was compelled to return, bankrupt in pocket and prestige; and in the very island where he had made his *coup d' état* years before, there he died in want and dishonour. 'The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding small.'

No one was more astonished, perhaps, than Mr. Moulton when the changes that had taken place in Tonga reached his ear. But his joy at the transition, which had brought back the exiles from Fiji and, practically the 'restoration,' was great; and yet not greater than his gratitude to Almighty God, who had, in His own wise way, wrought such a transformation. His visit to England was not without its flushes of pleasure to him. Apart from that relating to the renewal of personal relationships broken for many momentous years, his cup of joy was made full by the gratifying manner in which John Fekau, the native he had taken home with him, had acquitted himself before the English public. He was one of the Tubou College students, and of course, the reputation of that institution was at stake.

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Its Head Master ever jealously guarded its interests, but his fears were needless, and his student worthily walked in the footsteps of his predecessor, David Finau. He excelled himself when he addressed a meeting at Cambridge, at which members of that far-famed university were well represented. He seemed to realize the importance of the occasion and rose to it.

In the early months of 1891 Mr. Moulton was back again in Sydney. He made a silent resolve to pay a flying visit to Tonga, as a hush to the oft-repeated opinion that the king was still opposed to his re-appointment. He seemed to be blessed, on crucial occasions, with the invaluable power, not only of discerning the psychological moment but also of acting upon it. It was so on this occasion. Mr. Moulton felt the time had come for the projected visit to Tonga, and to the king. And he went.

He landed in Nukualofa, and, shortly afterwards, an audience with the king was granted. It was as he had surmised. The aged monarch received him graciously, and the reconciliation was complete. The old-time relations were revived, and the farewell was most cordial. It was the last time that they met, for, on Mr. Moulton's next visit to the island, the king had been dead for four years. Thus providence had graciously granted what all ardent followers of the Tongan question had for many years devoutly wished and prayed for; and the breach formed between the two friends of former days was now, at last and for ever, healed. While there was joy in heaven over such a happy consummation, on earth it was none the less great, and the little loyal church in Tonga, as did its larger counterpart in New South Wales, joined fervently in its chorus of thanksgiving.

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The year 1893 was an important one on the annals of Tongan history, for, on February 17, the Grand Old Man of Tonga, after a short illness, 'slept with his fathers,' and Taufa'ahau, his grandson, bearing his own revered and awe-inspiring name, reigned in his stead under the title of King George Tubou II. The passing of the old king was marked by the most terrible rain storm known in the islands for many years; and the Tongan often declared that 'the heavens themselves seemed to be weeping at the passing of Tubou'!

Mr. Moulton's son, who has preserved these records, had been appointed to the charge of Tubou College in April of this same year, and he can vouch for the truth as to a superabundant downpour, for he took the trouble of computing the recorded readings of the rain-gauge in the institution for the subsequent ten months, and can certify to the fact that 110 inches were registered during that period. The death of the old king meant the removal of one of the greatest, if not *the* greatest, personalities of the South Pacific. He had been responsible for the consolidation of the Tongan group, and had made possible the remarkable changes that had taken place through the medium of the levelling influences of the gospel of Christ. His mind was among the first to grasp the patent shallowness of the heathen worship, and to his vigour and individual effort must be attributed the rapid change that was effected upon the minds of the other chiefs of high standing, even before he took up the reins of government over the people whom he so successfully ruled for nearly forty years. He saw the transition of his island from heathenism to civilization, from the darkness of ignorance and superstition to the light of a know-

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ledge and a liberty analogous to that enjoyed by the foremost nations of the world, if on a somewhat lower scale. And to him belongs the glory of furthering such a desirable end. The intellectual enlightenment without which there could be no advancement was ever his earnest care : and he seized the opportunity when it presented itself, of remedying the defect.

After his conversion, the only apparent charge against his character was on account of his share in the persecution. We have written in vain, however, if it has not already been very clearly and unmistakably shown that the false step was the direct result of the dominating personality and persuasive powers of another, who played upon the declining vigour and disabilities contingent upon old age, in the interests of his own position, and who took unfair advantage of his ascendancy to make the agent the scapegoat of his bold machinations.

Mr. Baker's own unsolicited statement, made when he found the door of entry to the Free Church closed to him, is sufficient evidence of where the guilt lay. He said, 'I did it all for my own aggrandisement'; and this is supported in a pathetic fashion by the fact that the king himself, when reviewing the past, was known to have volunteered the remark, 'We have sinned; let us be fervent in prayer!'

The news of King George's death greatly affected Mr. Moulton. The memories of the early days outcrowded the bitterness of later years: for it was the king who had been his consistent helper when obstacles to his college schemes were put forward by the chiefs and others. The College magazine was in the printer's hands and the issue almost complete. There was no room therefore for more than a few lines of

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appreciation, inserted as it passed through the press, with the promise of a more suitable *In memoriam* at a later date. Unfortunately pressure of work interfered with the carrying out of this purpose. This is a matter for deep regret, as the early relationship between the two had been very intimate, and the stories of adventure would have given both value and piquancy to the memoir which he had fully intended to write.

It is a strange coincidence that the same month and year which saw the passing of the great king of Tonga were those identified with the exaltation of Mr. Moulton to the highest position that the New South Wales Conference could bestow upon any of its brethren—that of the Presidency. To that high position of trust was added the responsibility and burden of the presidency of the denominational educational institution, Newington College. The first man to act as its Head Master (1863) was now chosen to be its president. Both positions were unsought and were, practically, thrust upon him. He was no aspirant for the first (nor for the second, for that matter): for, as he told his brethren when, by an overwhelming vote, they had placed him in the Chair, his only aim in his ministerial career had ever been to be ‘a workman that needeth not to be ashamed.’ With the second was associated the tutorship of the theological students, a charge of the greatest importance, in view of the future development of those who were in due course to join the ranks of the active ministry.

He guided the sessions of Conference with a firm though kind hand; and if, at times, as not unfrequently occurred even in so orderly an assembly, the atmosphere was somewhat surcharged with electricity,

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the air was cleared and the normal state restored by a winning smile. That he worthily upheld the honour and dignity of the Chair will be amply exemplified by the resolution passed at the Conference of 1894 on the subject.

His term of service at Newington College deserves more than a passing word. When he took charge of it in 1893, the financial burden of the institution, ever onerous, was rendered still more so by the serious bank crashes for which that year was conspicuous. Patiently and fearlessly he undertook the task. At no period of its history had the school been at such a low ebb. There were but twenty boarders, and the day boys had dwindled considerably. However, he worked away indefatigably and slowly the numbers rose. Mr. A. H. S. Lucas, B.Sc., was associated with him at this period as Head Master, and materially helped in the difficult task before them.

The new President was, as ever he had been, the 'schoolboys' man. He was acquainted with all their peculiar ways. He loved the boys and sought their highest welfare. He could be firm, however, when the occasion demanded. He was interested, too, in their sports. The swimming-baths; the splendid cricket ground; the College flag with the *Wyvern* crest; the grass lawns near the flagstaff that slope so gracefully down towards the cricket grounds—these all came into being during his régime, and tell of his interest in the institution and its students. With its central building of massive stone and the lofty tower that adorns it, its gymnasium and twenty acres of playing-grounds, it can easily hold its own with the other great public schools of the Australian metropolis from an external point of view. The review



TUTORS OF TUBOU COLLEGE, 1900.

Bottom row, left to right: REV. J. E. MOULTON, B.A.; REV. DR. J. E. MOULTON;

REV. DAVID FINAU, *Head Native Tutor.*

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of its past history at the jubilee, held in 1913, has shown it to have been a remarkable asset in the life of the Commonwealth also as regards brain and moral culture. Ability and character are the two outstanding results of the work of the institution, and Mr. Moulton has a right to share in the *kudos* of those who were instrumental in shaping the course of the lives of such. Many who were under him at the old site on the Parramatta River remember him with admiration and reverence, and those who were placed under his supervision at the new, at Stanmore, have openly shown that they have entertained a similar regard for him.

But amid all the pre-occupations of other tasks Tonga was never far away from his thoughts. Kolo Finau, a Collegian, was now his amanuensis, and he found time for Tongan translation and hymnology despite his many other claims. The present writer was at the head of Tubou College at the time that his father was appointed to Newington, and can vouch for the fact that the hymns and scholastic work that came from his pen, while not, of course, so prolific as of old, reached high-water mark as regards their quality.

In 1895 the return of the Rev. J. A. Bowring, who had been Chairman of the Tongan District for five years, left the way open for Mr. Moulton's cherished wish. He could be ill spared now from Newington, but a compromise was effected whereby, while still occupying his present position, he was appointed once again in charge of the Tongan District—which ever since the year 1882 had become a District in connexion with the New South Wales Conference, and was no longer a mission in the general sense of the term.

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It was a burden as arduous as it was self-imposed that made him Chairman of so important a field as the Tongan District while still President of Newington and theological tutor. But it was better for his peace of mind than that he should be cut off from the work to which he was so devoted. Hence he was glad to accept it even under such conditions; and so as not to jeopardize the interests of the institution, made the arrangement to pay an annual visit of a few weeks to Tonga, in which he could hold the synod and attend to educational and other work.

Great was the welcome he received on his first visit, and from none was it warmer than from the Old Boys of the College. The succeeding synods were a source of great spiritual power, and at their conclusion lectures were delivered for a week to the *Helohelo* (old students) class. Their own notes of the same were taken at the time and were marked. The lectures themselves were afterwards written out and typewritten *in extenso*, and a copy of each was distributed to each of the three large groups of islands. There the contents were copied out by each student concerned, and this formed the basis of the next examination held on a date specified. The subjects of these were varied, but amongst them we might mention the history of England (to Henry II), comparative physiology, the grammar of the Tongan language, and, in mathematics, surds, binomial theory, and logarithms. With the exception of one year, in which there was a lapse because of illness, these courses were continued regularly for ten years, until 1906; and one can safely assert that at no time in the history of the College was such a high standard reached.

During this successful period of work was inaugur-

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ated the *Komemo* (an adaptation of *Commemoration*) in which past and present students took part. The first, held in 1898, was a brilliant function, and made a lasting impression on the island as a whole. Nothing like it had ever been seen before. In anticipation of the attendance, panelled sides, suspended in sections from above, replaced the nailed weather-boards of the western side of the hall. These could be opened and supported at will by iron bars, which rested on substantial studs. From the top plate, or resting on the thatch, a lean-to was improvised, twelve to fourteen feet wide and covered with branches, as a protection from the sun's rays, the sides of which, being left open, gave ample room for a large body of enthusiastic spectators to stand and watch the proceedings within the hall. It was proved a wise innovation; for it was an immense crowd that gathered to witness this new departure.

The commemoration lasted three days. The official opening in the morning was the most impressive, as it was the most formal, of the functions. A large stand, sloping to the floor, stretched from the wall of the eastern side to the centre of the building in the central portion of the large hall. On these sat the graduates, past and present, while the crowds occupied every other available space.

The solemnity of the *Roll-Call* will ever be remembered. On each side of the dais at the further end, and looking down upon it from an exalted position, stand the names in panelled splendour and in the corresponding order of years. As they were read out, one by one, they were duly responded to by their possessor on the stand.

To some there could be no reply, but they were not forgotten, for the captain of their respective years

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had been delegated to answer for them; and of such it was said 'He has died.' The muffled roll of the kettle-drum for a few seconds, terminating with the deep thud of the big drum, accompanied the solemn announcement. After the Roll-Call had been concluded, the College brass band struck up the 'Dead March in Saul,' the audience reverently standing. Then followed Mr. Moulton's speech, a review of the work of the past thirty-three years, which was listened to with rapt attention. As there were others who spoke, it was long past noon before the function concluded. Of the subsequent proceedings nothing much need be said. Of food there was plenty and 'they did all eat and were satisfied'—an element of prime importance in the management of all Tongan festivals.

The evenings of two days were given over, the first to the present College students, the second to those of the past. Both were entertainments with characteristics all their own, the former being an 'extra-special edition,' as the occasion demanded, on the lines of the College Speech-Day already described. There will be no need, therefore, to attempt any further description of it.

The afternoon of one of the days was occupied with one of the most interesting functions that any one could be privileged to witness. It was absolutely Tongan in its first part, and consisted of the offerings presented in honour of the occasion.

The native women interested had been, for months previously, busy making native cloth. Now the time had come for them to present it. A long line, two deep, of women attired in gala dress approached by the gate leading from the public road into the College square. Huge lengths of the native cloth

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were opened out and stretched, held up here and there by women on each side. The male portion, with native cloth around them or hanging from the shoulders and entwined around them (reminding one somewhat of the Roman toga), accompanied the bearers. On each side, in war attire, and with short-handled tomahawks or imitation clubs, ran youths, backwards and forwards in the line, twisting their weapons dexterously round and round, turning them to one side and then behind them, receiving them on the other, occasionally flinging them into the air and skilfully catching them. All the lengths of cloth were finally deposited before the guests of honour, until at last a large pile was heaped up. A speech followed, delivered by a person of rank. It was intensely interesting for its archaic form, the use of which has been forgotten by the present generation. The native cloth was afterwards sold and realized a very considerable sum, for it is a commodity in great request among the natives themselves. The *Helohelos* also had been preparing for months to add their mite on this auspicious occasion. This took the form of a monetary contribution, which was collected in the usual way. As a result the proceeds of the whole amounted to no small sum, which was to be used in aid of the advanced educational work.

The proceedings as a whole were a sight not to be missed, and the programme arranged was carried out with the greatest enthusiasm and order, for the Tongans are the slaves of formality, and here we had it in its pure, unadulterated, and true Tongan form. With the proceeds a chemical laboratory was subsequently erected, the frame of the building being cut in Auckland and sent down all ready for erection.

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This was done on the occasion of the second commemoration a few years later, and the students of the *Helohelo* classes carried through the work themselves. A third 'Commem.' was held just prior to Mr. Moulton's final departure from the islands—a step to which he was ultimately driven by considerations of health.

The value of these functions lay mainly in the fact that they renewed and intensified the zeal for scholastic work. They stimulated mental effort in some, and in others they aroused a sense of shame at being outstripped by their fellows, and thus they were of value on many sides. In connexion with this, his latest institution, it may be mentioned how great a gratification it was to the Collegians, old and new, and to the Church at large, when they learned in 1899, on one of his visits, that their loved teacher and pastor had received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the Victorian University of Canada—a distinction which his work as an educational pioneer as well as a Christian missionary amply merited. It is only fair to Dr. Moulton to state that he did not seek this recognition any more than he had done other distinctions. He was as much surprised as any one when he opened the letter acquainting him of the fact: and he never did succeed in finding out how the distinction came to be conferred upon him. He could only surmise that his work in connexion with Tubou College and the copies of literary work that he had done, and which he had forwarded to the Chicago Exposition some years before, had been the medium.

Meanwhile, he had been working hard and consistently at his translation work. The needs of the Sunday school, as well as of the College, were remem-

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bered in this respect, but the bulk of his attention was concentrated upon his *magnum opus*, the completion of the translation of the Bible. For twenty-five and a half years, amid many trials and distractions, he had been at work on this great task, and now at last it was finished. On Christmas Eve, 1902, he had the joy of posting to England the final pages. It would have been a very heavy piece of work for one man to accomplish under the most favourable conditions; but when the history of those difficult years is taken into account it stands out as nothing less than a miracle of patience and perseverance. The Book of books, translated from the original tongues, still remains as his rich legacy to the Tongan people.

Yes; his legacy. For the long period spent under the trying climatic conditions of an island in the tropics, accentuated by the stress and strain belonging to the years of the persecution, had told seriously upon his health. In 1906 the doctor in Tonga told him that it was imperative that he should leave, or serious consequences would follow. He felt the truth of the warning, and decided to withdraw from the work and seek, for the few years still left to him, the quiet retirement in the home at Lindfield that he had established. It was a wrench to both pastor and people, for they recognized his heroic service on their behalf. He had given the best years of his life to them, and it was only the imperative warnings of advancing years and failing health that forced him to part from them. But there was some consolation for them in the knowledge that there would still be Tongan translations and other works from his pen, which would serve to maintain to some degree the connexion; while in his capacity as Bookroom

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Steward he would be in constant touch with them. Absent from them in body he would be ever with them in spirit, until God's voice should call him and he 'Crossed the Bar.'

CHAPTER IX

LIFE'S EVENTIDE

THE Conference of 1906 readily, and yet with genuine regret, granted Dr. Moulton's request for retirement from active service. It showed its high appreciation of his long and devoted services by a resolution to that effect, which was entered upon the Minutes of Conference and read as follows:—

‘On the retirement of the Rev. J. E. Moulton, D.D., from the active ministry of the Church, the Conference records its high sense of the value of the services rendered by him in many directions during the past forty-three years. Concerning his character, gifts, and work, we glorify God in him. Connected with the Tongan District since 1864, Dr. Moulton has a record as a missionary and an educationalist that is almost unique. Apart from other services, the extent and value of his work as translator of the Holy Scriptures and standard literature into the Tongan tongue, together with his contributions to Tongan hymnals, is such as to lay that island nation under permanent obligation to him. As President of Tubou College, he did more than mere scholastic work; he imparted high ideals to the students of both sexes who came under his influence, and as Chairman of the District, he exercised a wise, sagacious and fatherly

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care over a people whom he loved and served with singular devotion. In the troublous times through which our work there unhappily passed Dr. Moulton comported himself with a fidelity, wisdom, serenity, and courage that eventually won the admiration of all parties. During a temporary residence in New South Wales, Dr. Moulton filled the position of President of Newington College, and Principal of the Theological Institution, where his influence upon the students who were under his care was stimulating, refining, and inspiring in a rare degree. With extensive scholarship and wide reading, he combined an unaffected modesty and an unfailing geniality that made his presence everywhere that of a good diffused. The Conference recognized his worth by calling him in 1893 to its presidential chair, and we feel that, in his retirement, we are losing from the ranks of our active ministry a brother of unique personality and gifts.'

Eulogistic references were made by the 'fathers' to his work, which they designated as *unique*, and the voice of a younger member added his quota of respect and admiration as a representative of the generation of ministers who had been brought under his beneficial influence.

To some there is granted in the providence of God, a prolonged and felicitous eventide, but in this case it was denied. His old enemy, asthma, that had for nearly forty years been so relentless in its attacks, now was more ruthless still; and the remaining few years—they were only three—and especially the last eighteen months, were years of constant suffering.

To his home at Lindfield he retired. It was a

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foregone conclusion that the cottage he had built should be distinguished by a Tongan name and one with a significant meaning. 'Fale'ofa' or 'House of love' was his choice, and was truly characteristic of his idea of what the atmosphere of the home should be. Amid heated arguments the choice phrase 'flowers of affection' would be appealingly and lovingly used across the dinner table; and it was a corrective to disputatiousness which may, even in a devoted family, tend to break bounds. An alternative plan, be it noted, quite as effective and as frequently adopted, was, 'let us sing; Hymn——'! Very characteristic!! Here he lived in the comfort of the new home that he had himself carefully planned so as to bestow the maximum of comfort upon the self-denying partner of his life and work. Here in the study he did Tongan translation—and was happy.

But it could be noticed that, while mental faculties were unimpaired, his physical powers were failing fast. In August of 1907 the family, with one exception, were present, for they thought the end had come: and although he rallied to a limited degree, the remaining eighteen months were a season of great suffering. Shortly before the Conference of 1909 he put his Bookroom accounts in order and handed them over to his successor; and that act seemed to be 'the last straw.' From that time forth he appeared to have no strength for aught else than to get his breath, so severe was his complaint.

Throughout this last illness the Tongan Church bore his name on their lips continually in prayer, and their letters revealed the concern they felt at his protracted suffering. In such a state he continued until May, when it was plainly visible that life was ebbing fast and only the will that had been so

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dominant all through his remarkable career was responsible for his tenacious grip of life. Hence the medical verdict as to the approaching end had once and again to be revoked. But at last, after a day or two of almost total unconsciousness—on Sunday, May the 9th, 1909, at 1.40 a.m., the great and weary struggle of many months was over, and James Egan Moulton of Tonga passed over into Another Country. He had navigated stormy seas with conspicuous courage for just over sixty-eight years, and now he had cast anchor in the Haven of Everlasting Rest.

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The funeral was largely attended. After a short service at the house, Newington College Cadets bore the casket to the Lindfield Methodist Church, where a most impressive service was held. The Rev. C. J. Prescott (President and Head Master of Newington College) gave an address, in which he referred feelingly and eloquently to Dr. Moulton as a preacher, educationalist, missionary, and man. At the grave at Gore Hill, where he was laid, the Rev. E. J. Rodd (Principal of the Ladies' College, Burwood) and the Rev. E. E. Crosby, B.A., his former colleague in Tonga, also delivered appropriate appreciations. The hymn, 'Abide with me,' fittingly closed the rites that could be paid over the grave of the saint and hero, who was laid to rest. It was fitting that, on such an occasion, the College flag, presented during his presidency, should cover the casket: and no less so that the strong arm of youthful cadets of the institution with which he had enjoyed such close and intimate connexion should bear him to his last resting-place. And most of all, assuredly, that, al-

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though through the irony of circumstances no Tongan native should follow the bier of their departed chieftain (his last amanuensis having been recalled owing to the death of his child), Tonga should not even then be forgotten. A rich *gafigafi* (a high chief's mat of the finest texture) enshrouded his body; and, buried with him, also, was a copy of his Tongan Bible and hymn-book. Moreover, with an exquisite sense of fitness Mr. Crosby read the Committal prayer from the Tongan prayer-book, for the translation of which the departed missionary himself had been responsible. The Revs. Charles Stead and C. E. James, the latter a former missionary in Tonga, also took part.

But the connexion of Tonga with these last rites was not yet closed. Those islanders sorrowed with a great sorrow when the news reached them, and this sorrow was not confined to the members of the Church whom he had so carefully nurtured. The passing of Dr. Moulton was considered as a *national* loss, and the flag flew at half-mast at Government House for three days.

The ensuing Tongan District Synod passed appreciative resolutions bearing on the loss they had sustained; but their appreciation proceeded to take more practical form, the result of which was that, after some months, the sum of £150 was generously collected for a memorial stone, or rather, two; one to mark the distant grave at Gore Hill, North Sydney, the other a present and an appropriate reminder of his association with Tubou College. The latter, in close proximity to the windows near the daïs, was officially unveiled by His Majesty King George Tubou II at the ensuing Synod (1910) and bears the following inscription:

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SACRED TO THE MEMORY
OF

DR. MOULTON,

Founder of TUBOU COLLEGE.

Born at NORTH SHIELDS, ENGLAND, on
January 4, 1841, and died at LINDFIELD, N.S.
WALES, on May 9, 1909.

He rests at Gore Hill, North Sydney.

He commenced his labours in Tonga in May 1865, and retired from active work in 1906. He devoted his life to the highest interests of the Tongan people, to raise them intellectually and spiritually.

‘REST AFTER LABOUR.’

A tablet also adorns the wall of Zion Church, a fitting memorial too, of the close pastoral association with the people he dearly loved and faithfully served.

Both the stones are of granite, and that at Gore Hill, in addition to the usual inscription, chronicles the fact for future generations that it was ‘erected by the people of Tonga, for whom he laboured for nearly forty-four years.’ And it will ever be as ‘Moulton of Tonga’ that he will be remembered.

CHAPTER X

EPILOGUE

IT is obviously difficult for a writer to frame estimates of the worth of one bound close to him by ties of kinship, for dispassionate judgement is out of the question. And yet three considerations may be pleaded for doing it. Firstly, if this writer does not do it, it may not be done at all; secondly, no one knows the facts so well as one who is within the circle; thirdly, all the convictions formed by those within tally with the appreciations expressed by those who are without, which proves that the estimates have not been the mere outcome of warm affection within the family. In these concluding pages an attempt will be made to gather up what is most essential, both in respect of himself and his work, as viewed by those who saw him from outside.

Dr. Moulton occupied a very high place in the esteem of those who knew him best. Among his brethren in Conference he was an outstanding figure, while in Tonga so prophetic were his utterances on momentous issues that one chief, who had been a heathen, looked upon him almost as a god. A Cambridge professor, who had had a very low opinion of missionary effort, when he had heard the story of Tubou College, gave unstinted praise, and modified altogether his attitude towards foreign missions. Judicial authorities of the highest acumen, at whose house the subject of this memoir was guest, marvelled at the work he had accomplished, while at

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the same time they maintained that in such a sphere his talents were wasted! But he was never spoilt by eulogy; and to the last his humility was one of his conspicuous characteristics.

He was an optimist through and through, and his optimism was his salvation. The first hymn sung at his grave-side, 'Give to the winds thy fears,' was a happy choice. It breathed the very spirit that dominated his life. This grace of hopefulness sustained him and saved him from chronic melancholia, while it saved the Church and people, again and again, from utter despair. One remarkable example may be noted. When the suspicion was abroad in the islands that the Wesleyan Church was on the verge of financial collapse he completely changed the trend of opinion by purchasing from Paris a magnificent two-manual harmonium at great cost. This may be charged against him as a gross extravagance at a critical period, but it saved the situation. The same optimism characterized his management of the Tongan Bookroom and publishing enterprises. They might be put down as rash and unbusinesslike, especially in view of the fact that Mr. Baker refused to pay for the school books which his government had ordered. But he knew his people, and had no doubt as to their willingness to shoulder their end of the load if he would shoulder his—the work of translation. When he told the Tongan ministers of the growing debt their reply was, 'Don't be afraid, Mr. Moulton, leave that to us and our children; only go on with your translation work for our sake.' He did so; and they did their share too, for within a month of his death they liquidated the whole of the Bookroom debt—a matter of six hundred pounds.

The weary waiting for the tide to turn, of course,

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was a heavy demand on his patience and faith. The autocratic rule brought to bear against him and his people, and the myriad petty annoyances from the same quarter, were more than enough to try the patience of a saint; but he put up with them.

The key to all this was a pervading love which would go so far as to treat a Tongan as himself. The ministers were, in a real sense, his brethren: the people, in a real sense, his children. When David Finau went to England, Dr. Moulton made him feel that he was on an equality with himself. Though reluctant to do so, the pundit occupied the same bedroom at the host's house. Such 'condescension,' as he termed it, made a lasting impression upon him and upon the people at home, who heard of it with astonishment. This disposition of heart was largely responsible for his influence over the people, in that it generated an implicit confidence in him which was never abused.

His scholastic attainments were considerable, as all who knew him will admit. People said of him, as they did of his brother William, that it was difficult to discourse on a subject with which he did not seem to be conversant. His memory was so retentive that facts once culled were never forgotten. His field of choice was wide. History and science were especially fascinating to him, but the Bible, with its deep truths, had a charm all its own. During his Kingswood days he read the Bible through *six* times. As older he grew, the harder and disputed passages riveted his keenest attention. Though resident in the Antipodes, remote from the world of thought, he kept abreast of the times and followed closely the fierce struggle over the higher criticism. Years before Drummond's

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Natural Law in the Spiritual World appeared in print, he had moved in the similar channel of thought, and his Bible-readings and sermons to the dusky islanders were saturated with similar teachings. No limited or narrow sphere confined him, and yet his faith in the inspiration of the Bible was firm to the end.

His Sunday evening Bible-readings in Tubou College were an intellectual as well as a spiritual feast, and they were marked by both instructiveness and originality. That they were always listened to by a crowded and rapt audience serves to show the influence he was exerting on the mental calibre of a once heathen nation. He had succeeded in awakening powers that they did possess but which had lain dormant. This fact stamps his life's work as a success, and it was the end he had set out to reach.

But this does not stand alone. The greatest work he was permitted to do was that of blending the spiritual and mental in one consistent whole, and the character of the nation has, as an immediate consequence, been changed. One striking instance of this comes to mind. The very fact of the loyalty of the Tongan Wesleyan Church to the Conference in direct opposition to the king's will reveals a higher moral fibre than ever could have been expected from a native people. Conscience, hitherto, had known no higher will than subservient obedience to the king's decree. The majority of chiefs and people who turned over and joined the Free Church, while, in a measure, their action was dictated by a fear of the consequences of disobedience, did so largely because it was the wish of their sovereign. But a new era dawned in Tonga, when a faithful band, willing to die in battle for their royal master, yet refused to have their right

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of religious liberty trampled upon. They preferred to worship God as their consciences dictated, in a church they loved, because it brought the Light. This new feature staggered the king. It was the dawn of a new life, and, bitter as was the tragedy of dislocation and loss, yet viewed now over the vista of years, the trials are seen to have been but the fire in which the true gold was purified and freed from any alloy. And the Wesleyan Church of to-day is the stronger morally for the refining process.

Throughout the years of trial Dr. Moulton's literary and educational work shines out most conspicuously: and nothing in his career is more amazing than that it was so. But he was no weakling. Behind that quiet engaging manner, there was a fire burning, not of bitter anger at frustrated hopes, but of an unextinguishable enthusiasm that knew no defeat. Throughout the dark days the Church, as well as the College, was his care. Though depleted numerically, the same machinery remained at work. But the altered conditions entailed greater responsibilities on the native ministers. They must 'hold the fort' where, hitherto, the European missionaries had reigned. An educated ministry was therefore more than ever necessary; and Tubou College, with its intellectual and spiritual agencies was the assured medium. With aim concentrated upon this consummation he toiled incessantly. Books poured forth for their aid; Sunday-school teachers were likewise assisted. Educational treatises were prepared, and the printers kept busy. And all the time the re-translation of the Bible from the original tongue was going on: hymns were composed, and College choir-practices conducted. This mass of heterogeneous work would have been out of the question had not Dr.

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Moulton possessed, in a high degree, the essential gift of concentration. From a heavy morning's work of teaching in the College, he could at once fling himself into tasks of translation, or other literary enterprise. No moment found him idle.

The *Helohelo* (advanced) class, first inaugurated at the commencement of the troubles, served to carry out still further his plan of an educated ministry, by bringing him into touch with Tubou College students who had finished their course and had left the institution. This has proved the 'fountain of ministerial supply. His lectures to them covered a wide sphere of subjects. For upwards of eight years, while the persecution was at its height, they were continued. His removal to New South Wales severed not only his connexion with the island itself (excepting as the Book-room Steward) but rendered the continuance of these lectures impossible. But his re-appointment in 1896 again gave the coveted opportunity, and for ten consecutive years there was no break in the chain. Probably, from an educational standpoint, these last years were the best.

It had ever been his fear lest, when the ordinary College curriculum ceased, the retired students should lapse into intellectual slothfulness through having no definite aim before them. For this reason he redoubled his energies in the *Helohelo* work—the channel which he saw was most conducive to this desirable end. Year by year he excited their interest by giving them fresh subjects of study, and the yearly examinations on these subjects proved a most powerful incentive to consistent work. The Tubou College Magazine also was a medium of intellectual stimulus, and, besides the serials, all more or less in a lighter vein, there were included also

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articles on the latest scientific discoveries and other matters of interest.

The men thus fed and stimulated were of a standard that, with their evangelistic qualifications, made them desirable and effective pastors of the Church fold. In the earlier days it had been found necessary to requisition eight European brethren to cope with the demands of this important mission field. In the present writer's day, the work was superintended by *one* brother only, with the help of a larger staff of Tongan ministers. Herein lies the vindication of the College and its founder.

Readers of these pages will not need to be told that hymnology was a potent factor in keeping the spiritual life of the Church in Tonga strong and alert. While the intellectual facilities of the College were available to the few, the hymns that emanated from it reached out to all: and to those who, during the troubles, were banished to solitary islands the hymns proved an unspeakable boon. Dr. Moulton seemed to have been specially inspired during these dark days, and the work he did in this direction kept at white heat their loyalty to the Church of their choice. While we consider the translation of the Bible as his greatest achievement, the hymn-book, containing two hundred and sixty-four hymns from his own pen, certainly makes a good second. Here also, as in his other works, he gave them of his best as a translator.

It was certainly no easy task at first to discover a means whereby this agglutinous language might be harnessed and brought into direct submission to the laws of metrical exactitude. Efforts at direct translation were found to be abortive, and hence this method had to be abandoned. The groundwork of all success was

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the selection of a theme, whose development was afterwards to be worked out. But the language, though euphonic and rhythmic, did not appear to lend itself to the true syllabic measure of the line; there was ever a tendency to an extra beat. This drawback, however, was finally obviated by an ingenious device, which in no way disturbed the smoothness of the scansion, and was easily grasped by the natives themselves. It was practically the process of elision, where the offending syllable was more or less swallowed. In the printed hymn-book it is marked by italics, and, occurring most often in the last syllable of the line, sometimes appeared in other parts as well. In these hymns the Tongan Church became possessed of a rich legacy. The literary value is high, but higher than all is the spiritual power which the collection evinces. The hymns most dear to the Churches of the English speaking people have their counterpart in the Tongan hymn-book, and the appreciation of them by the people is as marked as in our own country. The singing in the Tongan churches is hearty, and helps to make the worship of the sanctuary a real means of grace. A shortened form of the Church of England Morning Service is printed as an appendix, to which are added the 'offices' as in the English books: and the whole, with the exception of three hymns, was the work of Dr. Moulton.

In addition to the literary work referred to above, that which had especial reference to the Church and Sunday school must not be overlooked. While primarily engaged in the building of a College, yet when appointed chairman, as has been said, a larger sphere was opened up and had his earnest attention. And he did not forget then to 'feed the lambs.' For

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the Sunday schools he translated the first and second Catechisms and numerous small story-books of the *Peep-of-Day* and *Basket of Flowers* type, while, for the infants, he prepared *Picture Maps*. In this way he succeeded in making this important branch of our Church organization show very active life.

As a preacher he was in great demand. Not that he was what, in the ordinary sense of the word, might be termed eloquent; but his treatment of difficult texts and subjects had a breezy originality of its own. Some of these sermons acquired great popularity. Foremost amongst them, perhaps, was that on Jonah. In some of the towns which he visited during his Presidential year, the liberty was taken, quite unknown to him, of full advertisements of this subject for the forthcoming Sunday; so that, on his arrival there, these notices met his amused gaze. But others were equally unconventional in their viewpoint and expression, and an unlikely text—such as, 'On that night could not the king sleep'—showed him at his best. All the sermons which arrested attention in Sydney and elsewhere had been given to the Tongan people during the long years of residence in those islands. That they were appreciated there is, in itself, an index of the intellectual capacity of the native mind, as well as a crowning proof of the height to which he had been instrumental in raising the people of this little kingdom. To them he was the prince of preachers for the insight he was able to give them as to the hidden mysteries and beauties of Sacred Writ. His scientific illustrations were strikingly apt, and his discourses replete with knowledge, and with spiritual applications of it which wrought powerfully upon his hearers.

But he peculiarly excelled in those expository

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Bible-readings held in the College on Sunday evenings. These have been described in foregoing pages and need not be dwelt upon save to say that the rapt attention of the crowded audiences witnessed to the fact that the teaching went home.

What he knew he could impart to others, and this held good both of religious and secular subjects. One has often been led to marvel how, at the very commencement, in his first efforts to introduce geometrical or arithmetical *formulae* and such like, he was able to bring the native mind, in its crude state, to grasp the truth of the symbol n^{th} . But it was achieved, as was the Tonganizing of English ideas and phrases, classical names and scientific phraseology. Not only in his *viva voce* lectures would he thus awaken keen interest and attention, but on the many occasions when he reduced his subjects to writing, this same power was manifest in almost as great a degree. The pages of the College magazine will witness to the truth of this estimate.

It has already been said that in after years it will be by his re-translation of the Bible that he will be longest remembered. This great work was not only a revelation of scholarship but of character: of a dauntless courage and a determined will that refused to be turned aside from a holy purpose. But, apart from the initial task of translation, how colossal an undertaking it was! This will be better understood if it be remembered that as far as this work of Dr. Moulton's was concerned, finality was only actually reached when the sheets had passed no less than five times through his hands! The work thus is a monument of prodigious care and assiduous attention to detail; and it is a work which will remain for all time. An attempt was once

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made—and that six years after the reviser's death, be it noted—to impugn the fidelity of the translation. It is well that Dr. Moulton ever kept to a hard-and-fast rule that he had made from the very initiation of his literary work, which amounted to his absolute refusal to make any such effort without the aid of a competent Tongan *amanuensis*. There is little doubt that, in his own personal knowledge of the Tongan language, he had no compeer. But to this he added the safeguard of an educated helper from among the people themselves. He believed—and he was right—that no European, however capable and armed with the further qualification of long years of residence among the people, could, unaided, be a faithful exponent of the best that was possible of a foreign nation's idiomatic phraseology. Rigid attention to such a wise proviso alone might be safely received as a strict guarantee of security so far as linguistic accuracy is concerned, but it is further strengthened by the unanimous vote of the unbiassed Tongan reader as to its purity of diction.

The results of such an expenditure of labour as the Tongan Bible entailed were not without other important compensations. Two only need be mentioned; first, that the extraordinary wealth of the Tongan language was conspicuously proved, and, secondly, that considerable light was thrown on the origin of the island-people. The translator had ever been an advocate of the former, and had had his suspicions aroused as to the true answer to the latter question. But, in the course of his many hours of wrestling with Hebrew and Tongan equivalents, the resemblance of many of the words in form, amounting to actual identity, came home to him with great force and confirmed his own previous opinion that the

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Tongans were originally a Hebrew people. When he referred this conviction to his brother, the late Dr. W. F. Moulton, an authority in such matters, the opinion was endorsed by him—but with this added admission that the Tongan, in some cases, was the *older* form. Thus such laborious delving was not without its nugget, and no one would grudge him a great ‘find,’ for he had worked hard enough to merit it.

In his capacity of Chairman he early instituted a system of Church finance which has proved highly satisfactory ever since its inception. One might say that the real income of the Church was dependent upon the missionary collections held annually. There were three important departments essential to the successful working of the Church financial machinery. These were the Synod, the Circuits, and the Trust. Since the native temperament was averse to weekly, that is, Sunday, offertories and constant financial demands, he conceived the happy ideal of having the necessary interest in all three satisfied by a single concentration of effort *once a year* on the part of each village and town throughout the group. The amounts raised in each were equally divided between the Synod, the Circuit, and Trust. The quota of the Trust was devoted solely to Church purposes on the spot; that of the Circuit came into a general circuit fund in connexion with each large island of the group; that of the Synod was utilized for the larger and all-embracing needs of the whole group, such as the building of parsonages, the Bookroom expenditure, and Connexional levies, &c. The scheme has ever worked admirably. Later it was also decided to hold *half-yearly* collections to strengthen the General Funds and the Trusts of each large island.

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The charge of narrow-mindedness can never obtain in the case of Dr. Moulton. The enforcement of prohibition on native members in respect of tobacco and of *kava*, their beverage, to the indulgence of both of which they had been for many years accustomed, had been speedily settled by the early missionaries, who forbade it as unworthy of a Christian. To Dr. Moulton that appeared to be an uncalled-for hardship, and there was a revolt within him when local preachers and members were suspended for disobedience to that mandate. There was a true sense of relief, therefore, when it was left an open question. It is, indeed, very questionable whether their loyalty and devotion to God as a consequence suffered in any way thereby. The *kava* and its effect stand on a totally different plane from European intoxicants, and, as regards the obnoxious weed, its deleterious effect upon the Tongan was never very marked. At the same time Dr. Moulton, as other missionaries before and after him have done, strongly denounced the far too common habit of smoking among the native women.

And he was as lovable as he was broadminded. Even for the man who strove to crush him and his work, he felt only pity when disaster came upon him. No signs of exultation were ever shown by him, and he never dwelt on the wrongs he had received at his hands, though they had brought grey hairs so rapidly and early upon himself.

By his ministerial brethren he was a brother beloved, and, while he had the strong courage of his opinions and openly expressed them, the friendly relationships, as far as he was concerned, were never impaired. His treatment of his native brethren we have alluded to. They were never made to feel they

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were moving in a different plane. He treated them as equals, and this very self-abnegatory attitude was the secret of his immense influence over them. To them he was a colossus of intellectual and spiritual power and his humility overpowered them one and all. Here again his 'gentleness' had made him 'great'—a phrase applied, by the way, also to his brother William in a memorial address.

Whence came all the characteristics which went to make this personality? Whence the 'How of this thus-ness'—to use a favourite expression of his own? It may be summed up in one clause. It was 'because the Lord was with him, and that which he did the Lord made it to prosper.' He was first and foremost a man of God. His spiritual life was transcendent. He heard the Call to go and preach the gospel to a foreign people, and he persevered through every opposing obstacle. He was loyal to his God, and, though offers of commercial prosperity were made him, first in England and then in Tonga—and it is not generally known that King George made a strong appeal to him, in the earlier years of his work, to become the Prime Minister of his little kingdom—yet he ever refused, for the one sole reason, that God had called him to the ministry. And being loyal to his God he ever communed with his God. The long night watches at the mission house, Nukualofa, amid the absorbing and well-nigh crushing burdens of the persecutions, would repeatedly have revealed Dr. Moulton wrestling in prayer with his Maker, until day dawned and strength and inspiration were given. And loyalty to God gave impetus to fidelity to the work with which He had entrusted him. This was a burning passion within him, which drove him along avenues of usefulness, with a will behind him

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that knew no master, until the last enemy, Death, overtook him and laid him low in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

So, though dead, he may still be said to speak in the life of the nation he had raised and to whom he had given a literature; in the College he had founded and in the men who, when educated, passed into the ranks of the Church and State; in the Bible and hymns and the large number of other books which he has left behind as a legacy to both College and people. But he lives most in the hearts of a people for whom he toiled with unswerving devotion and whom he treated as his own for forty-four years,—a veritable father to them with a heart as large as his interest.

He may be enrolled among the chosen men of God, who can justly be ranked among the great, but who toiled not in the great centres of civilization, but in the solitary group of islands far from the busy world; mere specks on the geographical map, but where there were once a heathen people, benighted and yet with a soul that cried out to a living God for light. And in course of time the True Light came, ushered in, before the period of our sketch, by brave and heroic men, to be followed in due course and by God's ordinance, by one who, on the foundation of a spiritual basis laid, was to add an intellectual superstructure.

Was he satisfied? No truly great man is satisfied as to his own work. To him it was still unfinished; and the more he did the greater the fields which opened out to his gaze as possible spheres of service. But it may be claimed for him that his main wish in life was amply gratified—which was 'to be a workman that needeth not to be ashamed.'



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